

The Thesis
for
The Degree of Ph.D. (70)
presented
to (12)
The University of London. 24

June, 1951.

ProQuest Number: 10752570

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10752570

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

THE
RELIGIOUS POLICY
OF
AKBAR

1556 - 1605

AHMAD *Bashir*

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.	I
I. AKBAR - HIS ACHIEVEMENT.	1
Akbar and the Rajputs; The Management of the Rajputs; Akber and Hindus in general; The Inner working of the System; The Cultural contacts.	
APPENDIX A.	VIII
Akbar's Religious Beliefs and Practices and his Measures in building his New Polity for Hindus and Muslims. Akbar of 1561-1578.	
II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AKBAR'S BELIEFS AND SHAIKH MUBARAK'S PLAN FOR HIS RELIGIOUS HEADSHIP, 1556-1579.	66
"The Chosen of the Lord"; Distrust of the 'Ulama'; Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-l Fazl; "Real Meanings" or "the Secrets" explained; The Imam?; Division of the law and the executive; Position in India; Shaikh Mubarak's Plan; Akbar's Belief that he had Supernatural powers; The plan in practice.	
III. THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AND THE INSURRECTION OF 1579-1581.	110
Rebellion in Bihar; The Revolt of Bengal; Conspiracy at the Court; The Invasion of the Punjab.	

IV.	AKBAR'S NEW RELIGION. ITS GENESIS.	149
		-210

The Enunciation of the New Religion; The Sun-worship; The Commandments of the 'Royal Prophet'; The Abolition of Jizia.

APPENDIX B.	XXIII
-------------	-------

Hindus and Muslims on various services. 1573-1600. An insight into the period.

APPENDIX C.	XXXI
-------------	------

Akbar's Hindu Mansabdars.

APPENDIX D.	XXXV
-------------	------

Hindus in Akbar's service: Acting Vakil, Chief Divans, Divans at the centre, Prominent Commanders, Provincial Governors, Joint Provincial Governors, Officiating Divan at the centre, Assistant Divan at the centre, In the Central Government, Provincial Bakhshis, Provincial Divans.

APPENDIX E.	XXXVIII
-------------	---------

The House of Amber.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.	XXXIX
---------------	-------

INTRODUCTION

The most important evidence on Akbar's religion and religious policy is provided by Badaoni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh. His language may be defective - he wrote with the anguish of a mortified man - but on the whole I have judged him to be reliable. Nizam-ud Din Ahmad's dry chronicle of events, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, I have also found essentially reliable. Abu-l Fazl's ponderous Akbarnama, the Book of Akbar, with its gigantic Appendix, the 'Ain', are indispensable. Day to day events are therein recorded in detail with due regard to chronology. I have tried to read the language of events rather than of Abu-l Fazl himself and thus in the main have constructed Chapters I, II and III. His work is a 'Blue Book' in the fullest sense of the term. Wherever Akbar himself is concerned, however, Abu-l Fazl is least reliable. To read Abu-l Fazl without the correctives of Nizam-ud Din Ahmad and Badaoni is to get a wrong picture, grossly overtoned with many shades completely obliterated. Although God dances to the tune of Akbar in the pages of this shameless flatterer the catalogue of information and statistics of the 'Ain' are remarkable.

I have used the Jesuit writings on Akbar in translation. They are full of hearsay and historians (and I myself) have rightly accepted their statements only where supported by other contemporary evidence.

II.

Chapter I of this thesis gives an outline of the work of Akbar in building his new policy for Hindus and Muslims and brings out various aspects of its inner working. Before passing to Chapter II, the reader will gain from Appendix A an impression of the religious beliefs and practices of Akbar at the time when he threw open his state services to his Hindu subjects. Abu-l Fazl's evidence is particularly misleading here. In his endeavour to present Akbar as 'a man not really interested in the tombs of saints', Abu-l Fazl has made him out a hypocrite. In this matter I have rather followed Nizam-ud Din Ahmad and Badaoni. The latter clearly reveals whenever hypocrisy, i.e. expedient action to pacify public opinion, was attributable to Akbar after 1578, but before that date he does not blame him and evidently believes in his sincerity.

Chapter II deals with the gradual change of Akbar's ideas and the influence on him of Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-l Fazl. They are generally believed to have been responsible for Akbar's New Religion. This chapter shows how different in fact was their total plan.

Chapter III leads us to the consequences of the neo-Islamic regime and the conspiracy of Khawja Shah Mansur, the Imperial Chief Minister. The fourth chapter brings us to the consideration of the New Religion of Akbar, which forms the climax of our story. The various regulations of Akbar's Religion were

III.

issued at different times. To give a complete picture of its every aspect I have put them together. To remind the reader of their exact sequence I have placed dates in the margin. For the same reason I have added the regulations and beliefs already discussed in the preceding chapters, although it has involved some repetition.

Much emphasis has been laid by modern writers upon the toleration of all religions under Akbar. Indeed he has been credited by some as the first ruler in history to abolish religious persecution. I have not thought it worth while to pursue this point, because even some of the Sultans of Delhi did not enact an Act of Supremacy, or enforce any Thirty-nine Articles or burn people at the stake. They sometimes collected Jizia and forbade blasphemy. Akbar did not compel his nobles or subjects to adopt his New Religion. He had had a foretaste of the dangers of compulsion in the insurrection of 1579-81.

THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION AND DIACRITICAL MARKS.

ا - ع - ٲ	=	a
ب	=	b
پ	=	p
ث - س - ص	=	s
ج	=	j
چ	=	ch
ه - ح	=	h
ز - ذ - ض - ظ	=	z
ژ - ی - ے	=	y
ش	=	sh
ف	=	f
ق	=	q

ت - ط	=	t
ٹ	=	kh
د	=	d
ر	=	r
ځ	=	gh
ٺ	=	th
ڍ*	=	dh

ک	=	k
گ	=	g
ل	=	l
م	=	m
ن	=	n
و	=	w, v.
پھ	=	bh
پھ	=	ph
جھ	=	jh
چھ	=	chh
لھ	=	lh
نھ	=	nh

ṭ	=	ٹ
kḥ	=	کھ
ḍ	=	دھ
ṛ	=	رھ
gḥ	=	گھ
tḥ	=	ٹھ
dḥ	=	ڍھ
rḥ	=	رھ

ā = as 'a' in 'all'.
u = as 'u' in 'fruit'.
un = ū (نُونٌ غُنَّةٌ)
i = ee
e = between 'e' and 'ee' as in اِجْر

Abbreviations

AulF = Abu-lFazl's Akbarnama.
 Ain = Abu-lFazl's Ain-eAkbari.
 NuD Ahmad = Nizam-udDin Ahmad's Tabqat-eAkbari.
 Badaoni = Abd-ul Qadir Badaoni's Muntakhab-utTawarikh.

In Appendix A.

F = AulF, ii.
F = AulF, iii.
 N = NuD Ahmad, ii.
 B = Badaoni, ii.
 PC = Percy Brown's Indian Painting under the Mughals.

I

AKBAR - HIS ACHIEVEMENT

Many events come about accidentally and often it is only afterwards that principles relating them are evolved. A man of affairs sometimes may take an unrelated action and if the outcome proves helpful a certain policy is seen to emerge. But when the line of action of a responsible man is discussed, it is often taken for granted that he was following from the very beginning a considered policy. Action in life springs so often from feelings rather than thought and meditation. But all too often the achievements of great men are attributed to their unusual reasoning powers. Besides, the imagination of writers plays wonders with some historical figures. Henry V remains what Shakespeare has created of him. Harun-ur Rashid always moves in the romance of the Arabian Nights. All this has happened in the case of Akbar, the Great Mogul.

In popular imagination he lives as one who tried to unite all his subjects by promulgating a common religion and by marrying many Rajput princesses. Even thoughtful writers have dubbed his marriage with the first Rajput princess, when he was only nineteen.

"a proof manifest to all the world that Akbar had decided to be the Padshah of his whole people - Hindus as well as Mohammadans¹", and have regarded it as the fruit of his thinking², which secured for him the powerful support of her family³. But a critical study of contemporary sources reveals rather a different story.

1554. In 1554, the year before Akbar came to the throne, Majnuṅ Khan Qaqshāl was in charge of the fort of Nārnol. It was attacked by Haji Khan, a general of SherShah and his ally was Raja Bhār Mall Kachhwāhā, ruler of Amber. They beseiged the fort and the garrison were in a miserable plight. The Raja interceded and a settlement was patched up. The fort was taken but Majnuṅ Khan was allowed to leave unmolested.⁴

1555. After the battle of Paniput, when Akbar was at Delhi, Majnuṅ Khan talked of the good offices of Bhār Mall. Akbar liked the turn he had done and called him to his court. Bhār Mall, with his sons and relatives reached Delhi and was well received. The

¹ V.A. Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, p.58.

² " , p.63.

³ " , p.58.

⁴ AbulFazl, Akbarnama, Vol. ii, p.20.

بر زبان عیب زده گشت که "ترا بنال خواهم کرد" و پنهان شد.

آرنام-۲۸-۲۵۲-



veteran Rajput general for the first time met the boy emperor of thirteen. The fatherly love of the one and the promising boyhood of the other seem to have impressed each other. The Raja and his relatives were given the robes of honour and Akbar personally saw them off. He was on ~~an out-of-temper~~ ^{a ferocious} elephant at the moment and the beast was dashing this way and that. Whichever direction the brute turned, people ran away in fright. But when it rushed towards the Raja and his companions they remained where they were, unperturbed. Akbar appreciated this display of courage ~~very much~~ and when bidding farewell to the Raja, he added. "We shall enrich you very much"¹.

Akbar married his sister Bakhshi Bano Begum to
1560 Mirza Sharf-ud-Din Hussain, in 1560, and Ajmer, Narnol and the surrounding country were given in his jagir. The Mirza prepared to attack Amber, the capital of Bhār Mall. Meanwhile Sūja, a claimant to the Raja's throne, son of Puran Mall, the elder brother of Bhār Mall, had joined him. The Mirza led his forces against Amber. He could not dislodge the Rajputs completely, but forced the Raja to sign a humiliating treaty, by which he was to pay a tribute and his son Jagan Nathi and two of his cousins, Raj Singh and Khankarⁱ were taken as hostages.

¹

Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, ii, p.45.

ⁱ

Sons of Raja Bhār Mall's brothers Askaran and Jagmal respectively. AulF, ii, pp. 155-56.

1561. In 1561 the Mirza had determined to organize large forces and annihilate¹ Kachhwāhās. Akbar was on pilgrimage to the tomb of the Saint Muin-ud-Din Chishti at Ajmer, when, at Kalāvali, Chughtai Khan informed him of the maltreatment Bhār Mall had received at the hands of Sharf-ud-Din Hussai he had been forced to leave his capital long since and the Mirza was preparing to launch a new attack on Amber. Akbar at once despatched him to bring the Raja to the court. At Deosā Bhār Mall's brother Rūpsi and his son Jai Mall came to pay their homage to the emperor. Next day Chughtai Khan escorted to the court Bhār Mall and his relatives and chieftains at Sangānir. Akbar treated them with kindness, appreciated their loyalty and shewed them marks of favour.¹

The Raja pondered over the problem of the Kachhwāhā relations with the Mughal government. There might be a sympathetic Chughtai Khan, but most of the nobles might not be expected to be unlike Sharf-ud-Din Hussain. The most considerate of them all was the King himself. Closer relations with the King, therefore, formed the obvious policy. Hence instead of being a Hindu tributary he thought, of becoming a close relative of the emperor. To this effect, through some of the most trusted persons

¹AulF, ii, pp. 155-56.

round the King, he proposed the marriage of his daughter with the emperor. Akbar accepted his proposal and sent him to prepare for the nuptials. Chughtai Khan was ordered to accompany him.¹

At Sambher when Sharf-ud-Din Hussain came to pay his homage and proffer his presents, Akbar in order to put Bhār Mall perfectly at ease, demanded the hostages from him.²

1562. On Akbar's return journey, at Sambher, Sharf-ud-Din Hussain presented Jagan Nāth, Raj Singh and Khankār before the emperor. In the same city was celebrated the famous marriage with the Kachhwahā princess. Near Rantehpur Raja Bhār Mall, with all his sons and relatives, reached the royal camp and paid his homage. The Raja said goodbye to his newly wedded daughter and son-in-law and returned, while his son and grandson, Bhagwan Das and Mān Singh, and other relatives accompanied them to Agra. Man Singh had permanently been taken into the Imperial service.³

Akbar
and the
Rajputs.

The events speak for themselves. The Raja had fallen on evil days. He was being harassed by the Mughal generals. His son and cousins were in the hands of the enemy as hostages and he himself was seeking

¹ AulF, ii, p. 156.

² " , p. 157.

³ " , pp. 157-58.

refuge among the hills of the desert. His State was not strong enough to withstand the onslaughts, neither was there any Chittor to provide an asylum for some time. The small principality of Amber was the first in the way of an invader of Rajputana from Agra or Delhi. His predecessor, his elder brother Raja Puran Mall, was defeated and killed when he opposed Mirza Hindal.¹ He himself had once submitted to Babar and another time to Humāyūn. If not as an independent ruler, at least to have peace and security under an overlord, he sought a matrimonial alliance. The kindhearted Akbar accepted the proposal and the marriage took place. It was not the result of a considered policy on the part of Akbar, though such a policy soon developed as Rajputs began to render faithful services.

At the moment it was just a marriage with a Hindu princess which was not a new thing. Firoze Shah Tughlaq was the son of a Hindu princess, daughter of Rana Mall, the Raja of Abohar, in the Ferozepore district, in Panjab. Humāyūn himself had xxx a Hindu wife, daughter of Raja Choka Parhar.³

¹ AulF, iii, p. 606.

² Ishwari Prasad, Medieval India, p. 264.

³ AulF, iii, p. 743.

It was not to prove that Akbar had decided to be the King of his whole people, Hindus and Muslims, in a different way. Neither was there the question of securing the powerful support of the family of the bride, who were themselves seeking ^{the} King's support against royal generals. Due to the recent inroads and the expected Mughal invasion, the people of the Amber State were so panic stricken that when Akbar approached Deosā, the town and the country around were evacuated.¹

Taking Man Singh into the royal service was also not an unheard of innovation. Hindus had been in the service of various sultans, even under Mahmud of Ghaznā.²

If there was any anticipation in the matter, it was on the part of the old man, Raja Bhār Mall. He accepted an overlord to keep intact his State. It was true to Indian tradition. Rajas would always accept an assertive and more powerful neighbour as their overlord, Mahārājdhē. Political marriages also were not unknown in India, and seeking a husband for one's daughter was not, and is not, considered derogatory to one's self-respect. At the Soember¹, not a Prithvi Raj but a Sanjokta selects the consort. In the Indian tradition, the girl is not the

¹ AulF, ii. p. 156.

² Ishwari Prasad, Medieval India, pp. 89-95.

¹ The husband selection ceremony in which princes showed their feats of valour and the princess garlanded the prince whom she would choose for her husband.

prize that a husband wins, but the man is the prize that the wife wins. Bhār Mall, no doubt, secured a good prize for his daughter. But he had to overcome one difficulty: the man and the girl professing different religions. He raised the royal marriages above every restriction. Herein was made a beginning

Bhār Mall made an alliance with the emperor and other Rajput princes followed suit. Each made a separate alliance of his own. No one thought of organizing a combined opposition. The Rajputs had not outlived the clannish life. Their states were established on the same basis. They would fight against each other. They would fight against an invader individually, but could not get together as an allied force. The two such attempts they ever made, one against Mohammad Ghorī and the other against Babar, failed. The former simply because the injured pride of a Jaipāl would not permit him to join hands with a Prithvi Rāj, to avoid common ruin. Their clannish pride would not permit them to serve under one another. In the treaty by which the fort of Rantehpur was surrendered to Akbar, one of the terms was that the chiefs of Bundi would not be put under the command of a Hindu leader.^{li}

li. For footnote see over.

a Hindu leader.^{li}

Moreover
The Kingdom of Delhi had been there for more than three hundred years and to come to terms with a powerful sultan had been the customary policy of Rajput princes. By this time it was no longer ~~an outlandish~~ ^{a foreign} power, but had become one of the States of the country, playing its part on the common chessboard of politics, whose help was sought by one against another. *For instance*

¹
Tod, Annals of Boondie, cited in V.A. Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 99.

ⁱ
There is inner evidence present to disprove the authenticity of this treaty. Still it proves that even at a later date Rajput princes considered it disgraceful to fight under a Hindu leader.

It refers to the exemption from taking part in the Mina Bazar, held in the Royal palace, at the Noroze Festival, by the ladies of the household of the Raja of Bundi. But the old Persian festivals were introduced by Akbar in the 27th year of his reign in 1582.^x The Norze or the Mina Bazar did not exist at the time of this treaty, in 1569. This fact more than anything else proves its later fabrication.

^x
AulF, iii, p. 379.

Raja Bhār not being the first son of his father, his nephew, son of his elder brother, had claimed the throne and joined the enemy Sharf-ud Din Hussain. The Raja when in trouble from within¹ and without sought Akbar's help.

1563 Similarly, when Chander Sen of Jodhpur succeeded his father Rai Maldev and his capital, Jodhpur, was attacked by the imperial² forces, his elder brother Ram Rai joined the invading Mughals.

1562 Not only personal internal bickerings took place, but their clannish animosity was still more pronounced. When the fort of Mirtha was surrendered by Devdas and with his 500 Rajput cavalry he was leaving the place, they were attacked by the Imperial force. The people responsible for the destruction of these Jodhpur Rajputs were men like Jai Mall, Lūnkaran and Sūja, Rajput generals from Amber, in the mughal army.³

To expect from such people, therefore, a modern nationalism something which did not exist at the time - and to accuse Bhār and other Rajput princes of national betrayal is unjust.

1. AulF, ii, p.155.
2. " p.197.
3. " pp.161-162.

← The various races in India did not consider them^{selves} as one nation. Neither ^{was the} whole of India ~~was~~ considered as one country. The inhabitants of every state formed a people. Every state was the motherland of her subjects.

The marriage of the Amber princess is one of the happiest events in history. It leavened with love the relations of the ruler and the ruled. It gave a different turn to Muslim rule in India. Because the parties contracted, this time proved very different from their predecessors. When a Hindu Raja would resist Muslim arms for long or would rebel again and again and was at the end defeated, the hand of his daughter was sometimes demanded as one of the terms of the peace treaty. Her stay in the harem was considered as a guarantee against her father's future misbehaviour. She was a hostage in a sense. Most of the Hindu-Muslim political marriages before Akbar were of this nature. The sultan would not favour his Hindu queen's father or brothers or trust them as his relatives and make them nobles of his court. On the other hand the Raja would consider one of his daughters as lost in the combat and was not interested, in any way, in the fortunes of the Kingdom of his son-in-law. He was not prepared to come and serve him and make a common cause. The princess was converted to Islam and would lead the life

of a Muslim 'malika' without any political consequences. The sultan would exact an annual tribute, if he could do it. The Raja would pay it, if he could not withhold it.

Akbar did not demand the hand of the Rajput princess as a condition of peace.

On the other hand Bhar Mall planned his policy to be of love and service rather than subjection and isolation. He married his daughter ^{to} ~~with~~ Akbar, loved him as his son-in-law and was prepared to serve him whenever required, with his whole Kachhwāhā force. To betray the husband of his daughter was out of the question for him.

Akbar valued Rajput co-operation and treated them as his most trusted nobles. Man Singh was taken into the imperial service and ~~as a general he rose~~ ^{rose} in his rank very soon. The Emperor did not annex any part of their state. They would rather receive extra jagir for the maintenance of additional corps, kept for king's service.

1563 At the Mathra fair the Government used to collect a tax. The year after his marriage with the Amber princess, Akbar happened to be there at the time of the fair and the tax-collection. To provide amenity for Hindus he abolished this tax.¹

This generous treatment on the part of Akbar could

¹AulF, ii. p. 190.

not fail to impress other Rajput princes and helped them to reconsider their relations with the mughal emperor. A matrimonial alliance would secure their possessions and ensure for them an extraordinary position in the mughal hierarchy.

1570. In 1570, when Akbar was at Ajmer, Rai Kalyān Mall, the Raja of Bikaner, visited him to pay his homage and desired his niece, daughter of his elder brother Khan, to become an empress. Akbar accepted his proposal and married the Bikaneri princess¹. Kalyān Mall's son, Rai Singh later on rose in the royal service.

At the same time Akbar was informed that Rāval Har Rai
1570. the Raja of Jaisalmer, though he had not come to pay his homage to the emperor so far, yet considered himself as one of his loyal vassals and wished his daughter to become an Imperial queen; and that he wished some noble of the court to be sent to Jaisalmer to escort the princess to the Royal palace. Akbar agreed to this arrangement and the work was entrusted to Raja Bhagwan Das.

1576. A similar proposal was put forward by Rāval Āskaran, the Raja of Dungarpur, and the emperor sent Rai Lunkaran and Raja Birbar to bring to the capital another Rajput consort for him.³

¹ AulF, ii, p. 358.

² " , pp. 358-59.

³ " iii, pp. 196, 210

A daughter of Rai Maldev of Jodhpur was also given in marriage to Akbar by her brother, Rai Udhe Singh.¹

Another happy event in Mughal-Rajput relations was that Akbar's eldest son, the crown prince, Sultan Salim, was born of a Rajput Queen, the daughter of Raja Bhār Mall. The next emperor^{to-be} was thus a grandson of Rajputs. They could not help, therefore, feeling attached to the Mughal empire, especially the Kachhwahas, who soon tried to strengthen doubly their existing ties.

When Prince Salim was fifteen and Akbar began to think of his marriage, he came to know that Raja Bhagwan Das wished to marry his own daughter to the prince.

The emperor welcomed the proposal and in February, 1584. 1584 the marriage of the Imperial Crown prince was celebrated with great pomp and show.²

1586. Two years later, Rai Rai Singh, the Raja of Bikaner, desired a similar alliance and Prince Salim was married with his daughter.³

The third powerful Royal house of Rajasthan was that of the renowned Rai Maldev of Jodhpur. His son Rai Udhe Singh, too, gave in marriage to Prince Salim,

¹ P. Saran, The Provincial Govt. of the Mughals. pp. 143-144

² AulF, iii, p. 451.

³ " , p. 494.

his daughter, destined to be the Mother of Shahjahān.¹

A daughter (or niece) of Rāval Bhim, the Raja of Jaisalmer, was also married to Prince Salim.²

A granddaughter of Rai Maldev of Jodhpur, daughter of his son Rai Mall, was married to Akbar's third son, Prince Danyāl.³

Besides these princesses of the leading Rajput chiefs, some other Hindu ladies were also married into the royal household. Two more wives of Prince Salim were the daughters of Darya Mall Bhās⁴ and Keshav Das Rathor.⁵ Another of Danyāl's wives was a daughter of Dilpat Ujjania.⁶

1562 These Rajas with their Rajput contingents began to help Akbar in building the imposing fabric of the Mughal Empire. They were serving him with unfaltering loyalty.

1573 In the second Gujrat expedition in 1573, against Mohammad Hussain Mirza, which young Akbar led himself, we find Rajputs fighting for their master with great

1. AulF, iii, p. 603.

2. P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 146.

3. AulF, iii, p. 699.

4. " , p. 572.

5. " , p. 581.

6. " , p. 826.

courage, completely unmindful of their lives. Akbar was not only commanding the battle, but also, at the same time, was fighting with sword and lance among his rank and file. ^{On one occasion} Bhagwan Das rode beside him, when he marched against Mohammad Hussain himself and was shooting arrows in front of the emperor, when

Ikhtiyar-ulMulk approached. Man Singh Darbari, Karan, a grandson of Maldev and Ragho Das Kachhwaha fought like heroes and the last-named fell on the battlefield. Others who were always around him in this expedition included Jagan Nath, Raisāl, Jai Mall, Raja Dip Chand, Davār Bhalla, Har Das, Ram Chand, Sañwal Das, Jagmāl Patwa and Ram Das Kachhwaha.¹

The
management
of the
Rajputs.

But to keep these diverse elements together was not an easy job. Only the master mind of an Akbar could hold them to serve a single purpose. And he had mastered this art during the last twelve years of Mughal-Rajput relations. He knew how to feed the pride of these chivalrous clans. He knew how to humour and please them. ^{it must not} Though, at the same time, ~~his rewards were~~ ^{be forgotten he was sincere.} ~~generous, his patronization real and his love, care and sympathies full of sincerity.~~

¹

AulF, iii, pp. 54, 61, 56, 49.

"هرگاه ملذمانِ مادرینِ نبرد درد آزمائی خود را بی‌سرنگی قرار دهند، از دردی نباشد که ما نتوانیم باشیم."

تکریم - ۳۲ - ۴۶

In the above referred to expedition, when the Mughals were approaching the enemy and Akbar and his soldiers were donning their armour, he saw Jai Mall, son of Rūpsi, a brother of Raja Bhār Mall, wearing a very heavy coat of mail. The kindhearted emperor gave him instead a Royal armour. His coat of mail was given away to Rai Maldev's grandson, Karan, who had got nothing to protect his body. Now the clannish feud between the Kachhwahas of Amber and Rathors of Jodhpur was too bitter to allow the ancestral armour of one to fall into the hands of the other. Rūpsi therefore sent for it from the emperor. Akbar replied that he had given his fine armour in exchange and that his demand was contrary to the spirit of love and friendship. Rūpsi in anguish put off his coat of mail to fight without it. Akbar also took off his armour and remarked, "Well, if our warriors have determined to fight without mail, it won't be chivalrous for us to fight in armour." This sublime retort eased the situation and the proud Rajput came to tender his apologies, pretending that he had taken 'bhang'ⁱ and that that had been the cause of his misdemeanour.¹

¹ AulF, iii, pp. 49-50.

ⁱ hashish - hemp.

The loyalty of Rajputs to their master was well-known even abroad. When Mirza Hakim marched against Akbar, in 1581, in the rumours of defection set afloat only Irani and Turani armies were said to change sides on the battlefield.¹

Akbar, too, would reward and honour his loyal servants and console them in their sorrows.

When they began to serve him on the battlefield, he would not collect from them Jizia², the tax which the non-muslims in a muslim state had to pay in lieu for military services and after sometime he formally abolished it.³

On his return from Kabal, when he crossed Ravi, 1581. Raja Bhagwan Das requested a Royal visit. The emperor granted his wishes and honoured him by going to his palace in person.⁴

When Gordhan, son of Raja Āskaran, brother of 1591 Raja Bhār Mall, was murdered, Akbar personally went to Askaran's house for condolence.⁵

¹

AulF, iii, p. 366.

²Badaoni, Muntakhab^{ut}Tawarikh, vol. ii, p. 210.

³ "

, p. 276.

⁴AulF, iii, p. 372.

⁵ "

, p. 606.

1599. Man Singh, while governor of Bengal, was ordered to accompany Prince Salim against Rana Partap. His son, Jagat Singh, was sent to officiate for him in Bengal. The young man unfortunately died on his way, near Agra. To console the bereaved heart of the Raja and the mourning Kachhwahas, Akbar appointed a lad, Jagat Singh's son, Mahā Singh, to officiate for his grandfather. The actual work of administration was, of course, to be in more experienced hands. But the patronization of the Amber house was significant.¹

Akbar expected his nobles also to have regards for
1598. Rajput chiefs. The nobles were ^{on one occasion} ~~once~~ engaged in falconry. The hawk of Raisāl's son alighted on a tree and Rustam Mirza's retinue got hold of it. Rajputs, men of Raisāl, reached the spot and a hot dispute ensued, which led to actual fighting. The Mirza hurried there to disengage them and was himself wounded. At last he was able to imprison the impetuous Rajputs. But instead of punishing them himself, he sent them to Raisāl. When Akbar heard of this forbearance on the part of Rustam Mirza he warmly praised him.²

¹
AulF, iii, p. 763.

² " . pp. 747-48.

Moreover, from the time, when the Rajputs entered his service, Akbar began to trust them. Confidence begets confidence and he knew it well.

When Khan Zaman Ali Quli Khan, the rebel governor, 1565. crossed the Ganges and thus broke the pledge on which he had been pardoned, ~~and~~ Akbar, being still in the vicinity, at once decided to march against him with a light force. Among those few left in charge of the main imperial army was Raja Bhagwan Das.¹

1567. Similarly, two years later, when Akbar was marching once more against Khan Zaman and being suddenly informed about his movements by his ~~reconnoitring~~^{souts} men, started at once to fight him with only a handful of soldiers, the main army was to follow him again under Bhagwan Das and Khawja Jahan.²

1572. Akbar was on his way to invade Gujrat, in 1572, when the good tidings of the birth of another son, at Ajmer, was brought to him, near Nāgor. He christened him Sultan Danyāl and the little prince was ordered to be taken to Amber, when one month old, to be brought up under the care of the virtuous Rani, wife of Raja Bhār Mall

¹ AulF, ii, p. 265.

² " , p. 291.

³ " iii, p. 373

In 1573, the Mirzas rebelled in Gujrat. Akbar was hurriedly preparing to set forth - while sending in advance some of the nobles with their armies. The royal harem was to go with them. Among those who were in charge were Raja Bhagwan Das and Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner.¹

1572. When Akbar went on his expedition against Gujrat the man in whose hands he left the capital was Raja Bhār Mall.²

1573. When he marched against Mirzas next year, the capital, with all its treasures, was again entrusted to the same old man of Amber.³ He had become the Emperor's father-in-law.

And the father-in-law was to be trusted implicitly.

Akbar had not only the help of Hindus in the form of not only the Rajput chieftains with their tribal

Akbar
and
Hindus
in
general.

~~forces were serving Akbar~~ on the battlefield, he had also ~~the~~ *assistance of* ~~recruits~~ Hindus in other branches of the Government service.

The future Great Emperor from the very beginning had xxx a most imperious nature. The consciousness of his position gave him extra determination to play his rôle.
not

1561 He was/an inactive lever to work upon in the overthrow of

1561. Bairām Khan. His surprise march against the misbehaving

1561. victorious general in Malwa, his expedition against

1561. Khan Zaman, the rebellious governor of Jonepur and the

¹ AulF, iii, p. 43.

² " , p. 19.

³ " , p. 43.

1562. treatment he meted out to Adham Khan, his foster-brother
1564. and Khawja Muazzam, his maternal uncle, made it clear that all
others had to serve his will. He was to reward them. They
were to serve him.

Hindu Rajas had been defeated and had become tributary
in the past. But the sultans were content to receive the
annual tribute. It was Akbar who wanted them to serve him
like his nobles, to come with their contingents and fight the
king's battles. Others, besides Rajas, were also to serve the
emperor.

With the aid of those who accepted him as their overlord
or their king, he went on to subdue the refractory and to make
further conquests.

It is to this inborn will to rule that we can trace
the origin of Akbar's policy of co-operation, rather than, as
Sharma says, to his concern to make Hindus interested in his
family line. Ensuring his family succession was not his main
concern as it was with the Albaris, Khiljis, Tughlaqs,

Sayyads, Lodhis or Surs.¹¹ He was not old enough ~~at nineteen~~ to indulge in such speculations. He was youthful enough to assert his will. And when those Hindus, who entered his service first, proved that Hindus could be dependable, he could see the advantages.

1561 Soon after he became independent of Bairām's control, he was requiring not merely Rajputs but all to come and serve him.

In his perilous fighting against the dacoits in 1562 at Paronka he was accompanied by Raja Budhi Chand and Raja Bhagwan Das.²

1562 Todar Mall had entered the government service and we find him this year sending to the court Raja Ganesh, the defeated hill-chieftain of Panjab.³

1. Sri Ram Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, p.18.

2. AulF, ii, pp. 164-65.

3. " , p. 170.

1. How much they were later interested in the fate of their weak son-in-law, is well illustrated by Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur. In spite of the fact that his daughter was married to Farrukhsiyar, he did his best for his destruction and has left his name in history as Ajit Singh 'DamadKush' or "the Slayer of his son-in-law"

He was not only 'the slayer of his son-in-law' but also 'the seducer of his daughter-in-law', wife of his second son Bakht Singh, ~~He enjoyed her and~~ and had to pay the customary price. ~~thereof.~~ Bakht Singh murdered him. (Later Mughals by William Irvine,

Ed. Sir J.N. Sarkar, vol. i, p. 408,
vol. ii, pp. 116-117)

1563 Next year among those who were sent against ^{the} Gakhars there were two Hindu Rajas of Panjab, Raja Kapur Dev and Raja Ram Chand.¹

1564 In the ninth year of his reign Akbar was fighting in Malwa against the rebel governor, Abd-ullah Khan Uzbek and was accompanied by Rai Pitr Das and Raja Todar Mall.²

1565 Next year when Akbar marched against Khan Zamān, Todar Mall with his retainers was one of the two generals sent against Khan Zaman's brother, Bahadur Khan. This time there were more than one or two Hindu generals fighting for the emperor. Besides Todar Mall, there were Raja Mitter Sen, Kurmusi, Rai Pitr Das and Raisāl Darbāri.³

Thus we find that Akbar was enlisting Hindus generally in his service. They had been in the government service previously too. But they used to be in meagre numbers, most of them holding minor posts in the revenue departmentⁱ Akbar enrolled them without any check or hindrance. And he threw open the highest posts in the State for them. It was something startling.

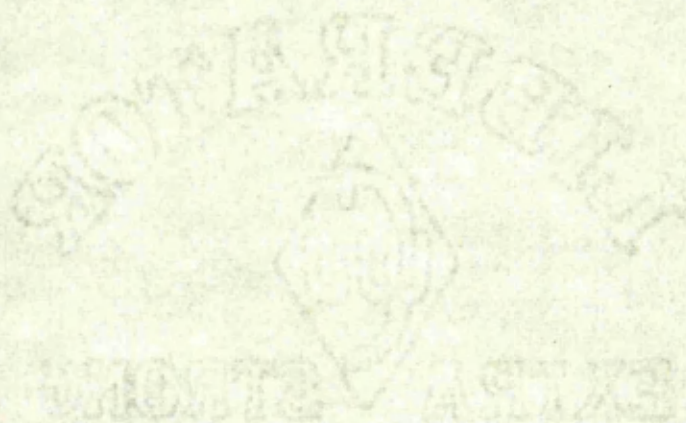
1563 When Raja Todar Mall was promoted in the Revenue department, Muslim nobles went to Akbar and requested his removal. Akbar's reply illustrates his attitude. No harm was going to come if able and loyal Hindus were raised to high posts.

1. AulF, ii, p. 193.
2. " , p. 228.
3. " , pp. 261-62.

1. Hemu's rise to power was due to the foreign invasion and the incapacity of Adli.

جواب داده اند که " سرکارم شهادت در برابر خود هفتدئی دارید -
ما هم هفتدئی داشته باشیم - چرا از بد باید بود ؟ "

بازگشتی - ۲۲-۶۶۴



He remarked, "Everyone of you have a Hindu (accountant) in your jagir. What harm is going to come, if we have a Hindu in ours?"¹

Akbar made all his subjects equally eligible for even the highest posts. He recognised merit. No one suffered from any disability. The government of the country became of Muslims and Hindus alike. Akbar became the emperor both of Hindus and Muslims. Hindus in northern India must have been feeling for the first time after many centuries that their country, their government, their king belonged to them as well.

Hindus and Muslims were put together on various services and they are named in one and the same breath. Hindus were serving under Muslim nobles. Muslims were fighting under Hindu generals. They were all serving the Emperor. Whether their immediate superior was Hindu or Muslim was of no account.²

Hindus in Akbar's service rose to the highest ranks in the Empire. Man Singh reached the highest rank of the Haft Hazari, the commandant of seven thousand cavalry. ~~men. He was the only noble in the realm holding this rank~~ Todar Mall became Akbar's Divān, the Finance Minister, next only to the Emperor. Loyal service would never go unrewarded. Sālībāhan was a musketeer in ^{the} king's service. He was made Raja Salbahan.³

1. Badaoni, ii, p.66.

2. " , p. 228.

3. AulF, iii, p.815.

When a government servant became of the rank of the commandant of more than five hundred, he entered the nobility.¹ Akbar's nobles included:-

Raja Bhār Mall of Amber Panj Hazari, ¹⁰
 Raja Bhagwan Das Panj Hazari,
 Raja Mān Singh Haft Hazari,
 Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner Chahār Hazari, ¹⁰
 Raja Kalyān Mall Do Hazari,
 Raja Udhe Singh of Jodhpur Yak Hazar Panj Sadi,
 Jagan Nath of Amber Panj Hazari,
 Āskaran Yak Hazari,
 Jagmāl Yak Hazari,

1. Nizam-udDin Ahmad, Tabqat-e-Akbari, vol. ii, p. 480.

- ia. Panj Hazari - of the Rank of the Commandant of five thousand cavalry.
 Haft Hazari - of the Rank of the Commandant of seven thousand cavalry.
 ib. Chahar Hazari of the rank of the Commandant of four thousand cavalry.
 Do Hazari - of the Rank of the Commandant of two thousand cavalry.
 Yak Hazar Panj Sadi - of the Rank of the Commandant of one thousand, five hundred cavalry.
 Yak Hazari - of the Rank of the Commandant of one thousand cavalry.
 Haft Sadi - of the Rank of the Commandant of seven hundred cavalry.
 Sih Hazari - of the Rank of the Commandant of three thousand cavalry.
 Do Hazar Panj Sadi - of the Rank of the Commandant of Two thousand five hundred cavalry.

Rupsi Yak Hazar Panj Sadi,
Salhadi Haft Sadi,
Madho Singh Sih Hazari,
Partap Singh Yak Hazari,
Raj Singh Sih Hazari,
Khankar Do Hazari,
Jagat Singh Yak Hazar Panj Sadi,
Sakat Singh Yak Hazari,
Raja Lunkaran Do Hazari,
Todar Mall Chahar Hazari,
Rai Pitr Das Sih Hazari,
Rai Surjan of Bundi Do Hazari,
Rai Bhaj, son of Rai Surjan, Yak Hazari,
Rai Durga Sisodia Yak Hazar Panj Sadi,
Raja Gopal Do Hazari,
Ram Das Kachhwaha Do Hazari,
Raisāl Darbari Do Hazar Panj Sadi,
Birbar Do Hazari,
Bhao Singh Do Hazari,
Mahā Singh Do Hazari,
Raja Ram Chand Bhaghela Do Hazari,
Medni Rai Chohan Yak Hazari,
Kalyan Das, son of Todar Mall, Yak Hazari,
Dharo, son of Todar Mall, Haft Sadi,
Raja Siyam Singh Yak Hazari,

Raja Jagman Chohan Yak Hazari and
Rai Rayan Bikermajit Panj Hazari.¹

Besides these 36 Hindu mansabdars in the higher ranks,
29 others are mentioned ~~in the lower down to~~ⁱⁿ the rank of
the Commandant of two hundred horsemen.

Among the Panj Sadiⁱ there were Raval Bhim of Jaisalmer
Durjan Singh, Sabal Singh, Dilpat son of Raja Rai Singh of
Bikaner, Jagmal Patvar, Parmanand Khatri, Ram Chand
Bandhela of Orchha, Raja Mukatman Bhedoria and Raja Ram
Chand of Orissa.

1. Abu-lFazl, Ain-eAkbari, vol. i, pp. 222-231.
Nizam-udDin Ahmad, Tabqat-eAkbari, vol. ii, pp. 425-456.
Abu-lFazl, Akbarnama, vol. iii, pp. 839, 786, 837,
820, 836, 809,
834, 832, 826.

i. Panj Sadi - of the Rank of the Commandant of five
hundred cavalry.

The Chahār Sadiⁱ were Ram Chand Kachhwāha, Rai Manohar, son of Raja Lunkaran and Balka Kachhwaha.

The Sih Sadi included Balabhdhar Rathōr, Keshav Das, Tulsi Das Jadūn, Man Singh Kachhwaha and Kishan Das.

The mansabⁱⁱ of Do Sadi was held by Rai Ram Das Divan, Jagat Singh, Mathra Das Khatri, Sanwal Das Jadūn, Udand of Orissa, Keshav Das Rathōr, son of Jai Mall, the defender of Chittōrⁱⁱⁱ, Sundar of Orissa, Suthra Das, Sanga Patvār, Sakra (or Sakat) brother of Rana Partap of Mewār, Kalla Kachhwaha and Lala, son of Raja Birbar.¹

Besides the lower grades in the Revenue department, the king's service was primarily a military service. About three fourths of the Hindu population had no interest

1. Ain, i, pp. 222-231.

- i. Chahār Sadi - of the rank of the Commandant of four hundred cavalry.
Sih Sadi - of the rank of the Commandant of three hundred cavalry.
Do Sadi - of the rank of the Commandant of two hundred cavalry.

ii. Mansab - rank.

iii. most probably. He is mentioned as Jai Mall of Mirthā (AulF, iii, p. 81) and the Defender of Chittōr is said to have been in command there before he came to that fateful fortress. (V.A. Smith - Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 88).

in such life. The military castes in the whole of Northern India except Rajputana and certain other Hindu states had also been practically demartialized due to more than three centuries of muslim rule. Those who joined the King's service, therefore, came mostly from Rajput and a few other Hindu states. When we consider the percentage of Hindus in Akbar's service, we have to keep this in view.

~~The lower personnel of the Revenue department was dominantly Hindu.~~ *Hindus rose to* Many ~~of them worked up to very high~~ posts, *in the Revenue Department.*

- 1582-85 Raja Todar Mall¹ and Rai Pitr Das² rose to the highest
1598 post of the Chief Divan or the Imperial Finance Minister.
1573 Rai Ram Das officiated as Divan at the centre.³
1592 When Akbar appointed four Deputy Finance Ministers at
the centre under the Imperial Divan Qalij Khan, two of them
were Hindus. Rai Pitr Das was concerned with the province
of Delhi. Rai Ram Das became the deputy minister for the
provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Bihar and Bengal.⁴

1. AulF, iii, p.381.
2. " , p. 741.
3. " , p. 80.
4. " , p. 605.

1595 In 1595, Akbar divided the empire into five circles and each was put under a supervisor to see that no toll was collected anywhere. The region from Lahore to Gujrat was entrusted to Ram Das Kachhwaha.¹

When a similar inspection was instituted in 1601,
1601 roads to Malwa and Deccan were entrusted to Ram Das and that of Gujrat to Kalyan Das.²

Krishan Das was appointed as the Provincial Finance
1595 Minister of Bengal. Ram Das was the Provincial Finance Minister of Bihar. Bhārti Chand became the Finance Minister of the Province of Ajmer. Rai Ram Das was sent to Ahmadabad as the Provincial Finance Minister of Gujrat. Khanūr was the Provincial Finance Minister of Avadh. Mathra Das was the Finance Minister of the Province of Lahore. The Finance Department of the Province of Dehil was in the hands of Ram Rai.

1. AulF, iii, p. 670.

2. " , p. 801.

The Finance Ministry of the Capital Province of Agra was entrusted to Keshav Das.¹

Akbar created work for Hindus in the Judicial Department as well. He instituted new courts with Hindu Judges and a certain civil jurisdiction was assigned to them to decide cases according to Hindu law when both the parties were Hindus.²

Many Hindus were given important posts in the administrative services.

1582 When Akbar divided the work of the central government into several departments and every one of them was entrusted to a body of high officials, Hindus were also there to run the Imperial government. There were Raisāl, Rai, Surjan, Raja Todar Mall, Rai Durga, Jagan Nath, Lunkaran, Raja Āskaran, Jagmāl, and Raja Birbar, distributed among various departments.³

1579 Rai Parkhotam⁴ and Tara Chand⁵ rose to be the Provincial
1586 Bakhshis of Bihar and Avadh respectively.

Raja Jagan Nath and Rai Durga were appointed as joint governors of the Province of Ajmer. Raja Āskaran was

1. AulF, iii, p. 670.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 356.

3. AulF, iii, pp. 404-5.

4. Badaoni, ii, p. 281.

5. AulF, iii, p. 511.

a joint Provincial Governor at Agra.¹ Raja Man Singh, Raja Bhagwan Das, Rai Rai Singh Bikaneri and Raja Todar Mall were appointed at various times as Provincial Governors.²

There were four Hindu Governors during Akbar's reign of half a century and only one Indian governor during a century and a half of British rule. No Hindu in British India ever rose to the position of Todar Mall as the Central Finance Minister of India.¹³

But Hindus had also identified themselves with Akbar. The line of demarcation was not between Hindus and Muslims. It was between king's friends and foes. They would fight against Hindus and Muslims alike.

1567 When Akbar attacked Chittor, Bhagwan Das accompanied him to fight Sisodias. Todar Mall with Akbar's famous engineer Qasim Khan, was in charge of siege constructions.⁴

1574 In 1574, Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner was fighting against Rai Chander Sen of Jodhpur.⁵

When Akbar sent from Ajmer the strong expedition
1576 against Rana Partap, Kanwar Man Singh was in supreme command

1. AulF, iii, p. 511.

2. " , pp. 492, 525, 651; 397; 491; 717 ; 198.

3. Sri Ram Sharma, the R.P. of the M.E., p. 27.

4. AulF, ii, pp. 316, 320.

5. " , p. 81.

i. He also worked as 'Vakil' or the vicegerent of the Emperor. (AulF, iii, p. 381).

He was accompanied by Jagan Nath, Khankār, Lūnkaran and others. The Rana was defeated in the battle of Haldighāt.¹

1576 Rai Rai Singh attacked and subdued the Raja of Sirohi and Abugadh.²

1577 When Dūda Chohan of Bundi revolted against the Imperial authority, his own father Rai Surjan and brother Bhōj with Ram Chand and Kurmasi and others marched against him, defeated him and captured the fort of Bundi.³

1577 Against Raja Mudhkar Bundhela of Orchha were sent Raja Askaran, Raja Udhe Singh, and others.⁴

1593 In 1593, Raja Udhe Singh of Jodhpur marched against the Raja of Sirohi.⁵

Datman Das fled from the court and revolted. His own father, Ram Das, requested the emperor to send an army against him.⁶

Hindus and Muslims in Akbar's service lived together, worked together, were put in charge together, were with their emperor together, even in his privacy. He would not make any distinction.

-
1. AulF, ii, p. 166.
 2. " , pp. 196-97.
 3. " , p. 201.
 4. AulF, iii, p. 210.
 5. " , p. 641.
 6. " , p. 788.

- 4/ ⁱ Todar Mall and Muzzaffar Khan worked together as
 1577-79 Divans.¹ The former was with Divan Khawja Shah Mansur
 1577-79 Shrazi.² Later he was to work as Divan with Mir
 1585-89 Fatah-ullah.³
 1598 / Rai Pitir Das Divan and Khawja Shams-udDin Divan were
 to co-operate with each other.⁴
 / Madho Singh was appointed as the Assistant Imperial
 1598 Divan to help Qalij Khan.⁵
 1586 / Raja Askaran and Shaikh Ibrahim were joint governors
 of the province of Agra.⁶
 1586 When Raja Bhagwan Das fell ill, in 1586, and was at
 Attak, Akbar sent for his treatment Hakim Hassan and
 / Mahadev.⁷ When the news of the illness of his son-in-law
 1602 Mirza Shahrukh reached him, in 1602, / Beni Das was deputed
 for his treatment.⁸

Not only in the emperor's service but also in that of
 his nobles there were Hindus and Muslims.

-
1. AulF, ii, p. 197, 333, 336.
 2. AulF, iii, p. 215.
 3. " , p. 457.
 4. " , p. 741.
 5. " , p. 570.
 6. " , p. 511.
 7. " , p. 492.
 8. " , p. 815.

i. 4/ = a Hindu.

1580 A Zen-udDin Ali was in the service of a Man Singh,¹
1601 a Ram Chand in that of an Abd-urRehman.¹²

Even when Akbar wanted to be away from the court
ceremonials, his few companions used to be Hindus and
1589 Muslims. When journeying towards Kashmīr, leaving his
retinue behind, he went ahead riding on horse and walking
on foot, he would sit down under a tree and rest awhile
with his companions Khan Khanan, Zen Khan Koka, Hakim
Abu-lFatah, / Jagan Nath, Abu-lFazl, Mir Sharif Āmli,
Qazi Hassan, Nur Qalij and / Ram Das.³

If Hindus served and revered him, Akbar loved and
honoured them. He would pay visits even to those who
were not of high rank, to honour them, to sympathise with
them.

1581 When he was at Mathra, he went to the house of Mathra
Das..⁴

1583 When the building of Birbar's palace was completed, he
was honoured by a royal visit.⁵

Todar Mall desired the same for long. At last Akbar
1584 went to the Raja's and he well celebrated the occasion.⁶

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 336.
 2. " , p. 792.
 3. " , p. 538.
 4. " , p. 373.
 5. " , p. 397.
 6. " , p. 440.

i. Zen-udDin Ali and Ram Chand were generals in command,
not menials.

1584 To Birbar Akbar paid a second visit.¹

When Ram Das' son was killed, ^{Akbar} ~~he~~ went to his ^{house} ~~for~~
condolence.²

Hindus were as dear to him as Muslims. Once two court wrestlers, a Hindu and a Muslim, ^{fighting} Jagsobha and Haibat Tahamtan, were ~~combating~~ in the arena. Contrary to the rules of sportsmanship, Haibat ^{fore open} ~~tore~~ ^{hand} ~~aside~~ the ~~fingers~~ of Jagsobha. Akbar was infuriated and gave him a stunning blow.³

1584 One day Akbar and his courtiers were watching the fighting of elephants on the polo-ground. Suddenly, one of the beasts ran after ⁺ Birbar and was going to coil him in its trunk. Instantly, heedless of his own life, Akbar spurred his horse and galloped between the two.⁴

The
Inner
working
of the
System.

The Rajputs would fight for the Imperial interests against Hindus and Muslims. But in the absence of clannish strife, to fight against Rajputs in Rajputana was rather disconcerting, especially to take harsh measures against them. After the defeat of Rana at Haldighat, Man Singh entered the country and Mughal armies were stationed there. In the hilly country

1576

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 438.
 2. " , p. 789.
 3. " , p. 328-29.
 4. " , p. 436.

communications were difficult. The food became scarce and armies were on the verge of starvation. But Man Singh would not allow the mughals to plunder Rajput people, to rob them of their cereal subsistence. To allow that in Rajputana was too much for his Rajput honour. The situation became untenable and Muslim generals sent a report to the emperor. Akbar, of course, could not afford to starve his armies. Man Singh was called back at once.¹ When Man Singh and Bhagwan Das were again sent to pursue the Rana, they were accompanied by Qutb-udDin Khan.² Next time Mirza Khan was to go with them.³ A great practical man as he was, Akbar was able to grasp the situation and silently proceeded henceforth accordingly. When Bhagwan Das and Man Singh with others were again sent to invade ^{the} Rana's country, the supreme command was given to Shāhbāz Khan. Shāhbāz, before he launched his series of severe attacks, took extra precaution to avoid any halfheartedness and sent back Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh to the court.⁴

Shahbaz was a general of pluck and daring and determination. Under his orders the mountainous tracts and ravines and hilly precincts all were trodden under Mughal horses. He took the Kalvara pass and stormed the

1. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 326. AulF, iii, pp. 185, 190.

2. AulF, iii, p. 191.

3. " , p. 196.

4. " , p. 218.

fort of Kumbalmer. It fell and he pushed along. At midday surrendered Goganda, at midnight he captured Udhepur.¹ Shāhbāz was, perhaps, the only general equal to the task. Again and again he was given the task of combating the Rana. He would have completed the conquest of Mewar, but ~~soon~~ Akbar needed him elsewhere. And when the ~~lion-clutch~~^{hold} of this great general from Panjab was removed, Rana could ~~sheer~~^{come} out of his mountain den and 1598 prowl around. Many years afterwards, when Akbar's hands were free, the same old Shāhbāz was sent against the Rana.²

Such was the policy which Akbar adopted regarding the war in Rajputana. But it was only here that the hand of the Rajputs hesitated. Elsewhere they proved more imperialist than the emperor himself.

When Man Singh was governor of Bihar, he marched 1590 against Raja Puran Mall, stormed his strong fortress and defeated him. The best of his elephants and choicest presents he secured from him and his daughter was taken in marriage for his brother Chander Bhān.³ Then he proceeded towards Raja Sangram. He submitted.⁴

After sometime he attacked Raja Anant Charva and collected an abundance of spoils.⁵

-
1. AulF, iii, pp. 238,-239:32.
 2. " , p. 749.
 3. " , p. 576.
 4. " , p. 576.
 5. " , p. 576.

When in Orissa, Man Singh went on pilgrimage to
1592 Jagannath. But it was also to cover his approach to
Raja Ram Chand, to attack him at an opportune moment.
The 'thought was translated into action' and the Raja was
forced to submit.¹

When Man Singh became governor of Bengal and Orissa,
1593 he required the tributary Raja, Ram Chand of Khurda, in
Orissa, to come and pay homage. But the latter refused to
pay homage to a governor. Man Singh at once despatched an
army against him under his son Jagat Singh, who besieged
the fort of Khurda and devastated the outlying country.
Many places like Sehjpāl, Kharāgadh, Kalubara, Khanān,
Lungadh and Bhōnmāl were taken. When Akbar heard of this
wanton aggression, he reprimanded Man Singh, who was
compelled to recall his forces and apologise to the Raja.²

When a group of persons work together, a superior is
needed to superintend them. When hundreds of people of
various nationalities and different religions are put
together, there are apt to be common sympathies and rival
jealousies and a strong man is doubly needed to see that no
one suffers. Akbar well played his part of the ~~leader~~ ^{leader}.

Todar Mall was very efficient in his work, but at the
same time was of a very spiteful nature.³

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 615.
 2. " , p. 631.
 3. " , pp. 158, 569.

1588 Once when Shahbaz Khan returned to the court very hot words over money matters were exchanged between him and Todar Mall, who was central Divan at the time. Akbar at once formed a board of four, consisting of Khan Khanān, Mir Fatah-ulla Shirazī, Hakim Abu-lFatah Gilani and AbulFazl, to investigate the case. Neither proved just in his demands.¹

1589 On another occasion we find Akbar taking out of prison Qazi Ali Baghdadi who had been unjustly put there by the good efforts of Raja Todar Mall.²

When Man Singh was governor of Kabal, reports were
1587received that his Rajput soldiers were behaving very high-handedly towards the people there and that he was not doing full justice to the matter. At once Akbar sent his transfer orders and Zen Khan Kokaltāsh was appointed as Governor of Kabal.³

Akbar began to build his Empire from Agra, when most of India, Bihar, Bengal, Malwa, Gujrat and many other provinces were already in muslim hands. Akbar's Hindu generals, therefore, neither felt qualms in putting an end to their rule, nor in fighting against muslim nobles who would rebel against the emperor. They had no sympathies and no common cause with them. Their own power against Akbar and his

1. AulF, iii, p. 529.

2. " , p. 571.

3. " , p. 517-18.

muslim nobles was insignificant. The result of any revolt on their part was a foregone conclusion. Akbar was, therefore, their only refuge. Their gains lay in his loyal service only. And we find them caring above all for the Emperor's interests.

- 1578 When Khan Zaman openly rebelled in the East, Akbar himself marched against him and Mir Muazz-ulMulk, Lashkar Khan and Todar Mall were sent against his brother Bahadur Khan. When Khan Zaman sued for peace, Akbar's Prime Minister Munim Khan, interceded on his behalf and won pardon for him.¹ But /- Todar Mall 'worked as oil on fire' (in spite of the fact that Bahadur repeatedly requested them to wait till the result of his brother's supplications)^{and}/Mir Muazz-ulMulk attacked him.²
- 1575 Similarly when Daud, King of Bengal, was defeated and begged for peace, Munim Khan accepted his submission and allowed him to retain a few districts in Orissa. But Todar Mall would not agree. He was for his complete destruction.³

- 1579 When Qaqshals, because of the undue severity and maltreatment of Muzaffar Khan rebelled in Bengal, at one time the rebel leaders and Muzaffar's representatives met together to discuss peace terms. Among the latter was Rai Pitr Das

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 79, 82. (AulF, ii, p. 260 .
 2. " , pp. 80, 81. (" , p. 261..
 3. AulF, iii, pp. 130-131.

whose men Narāin Das Khalot and others got ready to kill them all in cold blood. But a Rizvi Khan, inspite of the fact that he was Muzaffar's representative, would not suffer it to happen. A gesture, a hint, a metaphor from him was eloquent enough and 'the birds had flown!'¹

Akbar was aware of this intentional and incidental undivided loyalty of Hindus and availed himself thereof implicitly. He would trust them more than most others, especially when rebellious commotion was there under the surface.

The province of ~~the~~ Panjab occupied the most strategic position. It was first on the line of approach from the North West. Its resistance or submission to the invader was enough to decide the fate of the government at Delhi or Agra. At the time of Khan Zaman's rebellion in the East, Mirza Hakim had already once ventured to cross the border. 1578 Akbar assigned Jagirs in the Panjab, to Kachhwahas, Raja Bhagwan Das, Jagan Nath and others.²

Just a few months before the impending rebellion, he 1578 sent Raja Bhagwan Das, Jagan Nath, Raja Gopal, Jagmal Patvar and a few others to Panjab, to serve under Said Khan, but they were ordered to do their utmost in organising (the

1. AulF, iii, pp. 293-94.

2. " , p. 248.

و فرمان شد که در لوازم فرستاده ای چه گزین آمده . . .

در انتظام آن صوبه و آمادگی خود زمانه لغتونه -

اگر نامه - ج ۳ - ۲۶۲۴



administration and forces of) the provinces and keeping themselves ready (to move with their armies) at a moment's notice.¹

The restiveness had been simmering. Mulla Tayyab and the new Bakhsh ^{of} Bihar, Rai Parkhotam, proved tactless in their exactions and Masum Khan Kabli, Arb Bahadur and many other nobles broke out in open rebellion.² Muzzaffar's demands, in Bengal, led Turkmans to rise in revolt under Bābā Khan Qaqshāl.³

Akbar sent ⁱ 4/ Todar Mall against the rebels in the East.⁴ Soon after Khan-eĀzam and Shāhbāz Khan were also sent there.⁵

Akbar expected Mirza Hakim's invasion from the North West. His forecast proved correct. Hakim's armies crossed the river. Akbar ordered / Man Singh to go ahead and take charge of the frontier, displacing Mirza Yusuf Khan. Man Singh hurried there and marched against Shādmān, who was defeated and fatally wounded by Mān Singh's brother, / Raja Sūraj Singh.

From Agra Akbar despatched reinforcements under / Rai Singh of Bikaner.

Mirza Hakim crossed the river Indus and entered Hindustan. Akbar left his capital and marched towards the Panjab.

1. AulF, iii, p. 262.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 281. AulF, iii, p. 284.

3. " , p. 280. AulF, iii, pp. 290-93.

4. AulF, iii, p. 287.

5. " , pp. 308, 314.

i. 4/ = a Hindu.

شانزده مراد که حکم شاه بجهت شرط پنج کبیر داشت -
بدایونی - ۲۲ - ۲۶۴۴

د وقت نازک
اکبر نام - ۲۲ - ۲۴۳۴

Hakim reached Lahore and encamped outside the city. Within the city fort there were Said Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, Kanwar Man Singh and others who proved too strong for him.

When Hakim heard of Akbar's movements he retraced his steps. But Akbar's march continued to Kabal.

After crossing the Indus Said Khan and Bhagwan Das with Prince Salim were left behind in charge of the main army.

Kanwar Man Singh under Prince Murad of 11 was sent in advance. He encountered the Mirza and defeated him.

1581 After a short stay at Kabal, Akbar marched back towards his capital.¹ Todar Mall returned. The backbone of the Bihar rebellion had already been broken.²

It was in fact the most critical period³ in Akbar's career. But the situation had been saved. Thanks to Akbar's powers of organisation and his cool calculating tactfulness in managing the wavering. Thanks to his faithful muslim nobles. Thanks to all of his Hindu nobles.

Such a critical situation never arose again. Still Akbar always utilized the services of his Hindu nobles most judiciously. They were appointed where the most trusted were needed.

1. AulF, iii, pp. 335-70.

2. " , p. 372.

3. " , p. 343.

When he returned from Kabal, the charge of the North-
 1581 West frontier was entrusted to /¹Kanwar Man Singh. Panjab
 was left in the hands of Sipahārā-ePanjab, Raja Bhagwan Das,
 Rai Rai Singh, Jagan Nath and others under Said Khan.²
 1582 Next year, Bhagwan Das was made governor of Panjab and Said
 Khan was sent to fight Arāb Bahadur in Sambhal.³

When Mirza Hakim died in 1585, Man Singh was ordered
 1585 to hasten towards Kabal to take charge of the country and
 manage its affairs. Man did it well and returned to the
 court leaving his son, Jagat Singh, there.⁴ Bhagwan Das
 was appointed governor of Kabal. But when neither he nor
 his successor would willingly proceed to this difficult
 1586 charge, Man Singh was again sent there as the governor of
 that province.⁵

Bhagwan Das remained governor of Panjab for the rest of
 his life. All the time when Akbar was at Lahore, since
 1586, Bhagwan Das was in charge of the Emperor's household.⁶

A second centre of rebellion was ^{formed in} the provinces of Bihar
 and Bengal. The rebel leaders there had been defeated and
 the revolt suppressed, but the East still required strong
 1587 rule. Man Singh was sent to Bihar, in 1587, where he proved

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 372.
 2. " , p. 372.
 3. " , p. 397.
 4. " , p. 467-473.
 5. " , p. 491-92.
 6. " , p. 525.

i. a Hindu.

1594 himself a ~~very~~ successful governor.¹ In 1594, he was appointed the Governor of Bengal;² a position which he held for many years.

Sometimes Akbar entrusted to his Hindu nobles services of another kind.

Mohammad Yār, son of the daughter of Gulbadan Begum, 1599 the renowned sister of Hamāyūn, left the court with rebellious intentions. To arrest him Akbar sent ~~the~~ Salhadi and Danman Das.³

When Akbar was in the Deccan, Muzaffar Hussain Mirza, son of Gulrūkh Begam, daughter of Mirza Kāmran, Humāyun's brother and his own son-in-law, husband of his daughter, 1600 Khānam Sultan, left the imperial army with treasonable plans and rode away towards Gujrat. None of the nobles tried to capture him. Akbar was much offended and sent Rai Durga and Rai Manohar to pursue the culprit.⁴

Hindus not only served Akbar, in a way they also rendered great service to millions of Hindus in India. Their presence among the Imperial nobility and the rank and file of the government was a great security for their co-religionists. Hindu Rajas would always seek protection of Hindu 'umara',^{who}/willingly interceded on their behalf,

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 525.
 2. " , p. 651.
 3. " , p. 651.
 4. " , p. 771.

recommended their cases or guaranteed their safety at the court and helped them or their representatives in every way they could.

The messenger of the Raja of Kajli near Mālābār presented himself in the court through the good offices of Raja Birbar Bhupat Chohan, a rebel of Atāva, a fugitive before the imperial soldiers, entered the Royal camp to seek forgiveness because he was sure that Raja Todar Mall and Raja Birbar would protect him.²

When Khan Khanan, in Gujrat, determined to attack the Jām for his dishonest dealings and he entreated for peace, Rai Durga and Kalyan Rai of the Imperial army interceded on his behalf.³

When Raja Mudkhar of Orchha proved refractory and Shahab-udDin Khan marched out to punish him, it was through Raja Askaran and Raja Jagan Nath who were in the Khan's army that he came to pay his homage to the Khan and renewed his allegiance.⁴

Raja Rodur of Kamaon was prepared to come and pay his homage to the emperor, if Raja Todar Mall would take him under his protection.

The Raja sent his son, Kalyan Das, to escort him to the court.⁵

1. AulF, ii, pp. 341-42.

2. " ,iii, p. 279.

3. " , p. 454.

4. " , p. 526.

5. " , p. 533.

Sometimes they would take the initiative and persuade the Rajas to come to terms and escape destruction. When 1586 Raja Basu of the Panjab hills behaved in a refractory way, an imperial force under Hassan Beg and others, was sent against him. But Raja Todar Mall wrote him a letter, emphasizing the untoward consequences. Before the punitive force reached his place, he came out to see the general in charge and accompanied him to the court 'to illuminate his forehead by rubbing it on the ethereal threshold'.¹

In ~~the~~ "Feudal System", the King's vassals were too powerful for him to allow their alliances. Hence the Royal prerogative to control their marriages. The Great Moguls, though they never allowed their nobles to become French Dukes, were also very keen to control their matrimonial unions. The daughters of important 'umārā' were married in the Royal household and these 'umārā were thus inseparably attached to the Emperor. Sometimes a favourite young noble was married to the daughter of some powerful grandee to strengthen his position in the court.

The young Mirza Khan, future Khan Khamān, son of Bairām Khan, was married to Mah Bano Begum, sister of KhaneĀzar Mirza Aziz Kokaltash.² A daughter of the same was married

1. AulF, iii, p. 510.

2. " , p. 747.

صیہ صاحب جمال زین خان کوہ
توزب چانگری - ۸۳



to Prince Murad;¹ a young
 Prince Khusro.² Khan Kha:
 was married to Prince Danya:
 was also married to the same
 married to the daughter of
 daughter'⁶ of Zen Khan Koka
 and Akbar gave his consent.

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 518.
 2. " , p. 806.
 3. " , p. 837.
 4. " , p. 647.
 5. " , p. 799.
 6. Jahangir, Tozak-eJahangi
 7. AulF, iii, p. 710.

This control of marriages was not limited to muslim 'umara' only. It was extended to Hindu nobles as well. Likewise their daughters were married into the Royal household and in the same way their marriages with one another were controlled. We find Akbar marrying the daughter of Ram Das with Siyam Singh.¹ This would not have been an isolated instance.

Ladies of the 'umaras' harems observed 'parda'. The only exception made sometimes was in the case of the emperor himself. On ceremonial occasions in the palace, they would join in the celebrations and pay their homage to the Emperor. Later on Akbar introduced the Mina Bazar.¹² On the Noroze or the New Year Day festival and monthly festal days ladies of the emperor's ^{and} 'umaras' harems would meet together in the Royal palace and a market was held there, where these ladies would sell and buy. This was a social assemblage which in addition to riding, hunting, falconry, sight-seeing and garden-visits, added to the liveliness of the female life. The Emperor himself would come to

1. AulF, iii, p. 799.

2. Ain, i, p. 200.

ii. Abu-lFazl does not give the name Mina Bazar to these lively markets. They form ~~the~~ part of the annual New Year Day festival, Jashn-eNoroze and the monthly merry-making, the Khushroze. The name was not yet coined perhaps. (Ain, i. p. 200).

shop in these bazārs and chat with the shopkeepers and the customers. But his real motive was to know about them.¹ It was here that most of the matrimonial proposals originated and were put forward by the emperor.² And these bazārs were attended by the ladies of the Rajput nobles' households as well.³

But Akbar's influence on his Hindu nobility was even greater than this. Not only they accepted his regulating their social life, they tolerated him even when their deep-rooted religious susceptibilities were touched. But they accepted his interference, because they knew their emperor. He did not interfere to contaminate their sacred customs. His wishes originated from love, and humanity. He prohibited ~~the~~ 'sati' ^{i/} of a widow, if she was not willing,⁴ and he would have his orders obeyed.

1. Ain, i, p. 200.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 339.

3. In the Treaty of Bundi (Tod, Annals of Bundi, cited in Smith, Ak, the G.M., p. 99) one of the terms is that the ladies of the house of the Prince of Bundi would be exempted from taking part in the Mina Bazar on the Noroze festival. The Noroze festival or Mina Bazar did not exist at the time. Hence the later ~~xxx~~ invention of the treaty. But it evidently implies that the ladies of the Hindu unara used to take part in it when it came into being, though the Rajputs disliked it at a later date, when it had become scandalous, probably in the first half of the eighteenth century; and the tradition of the 'honourable treaty' originated.

4. Badaoni, ii, p. 376.

i. Sati - burning the widow alive on the funeral bier of her dead husband.

v. to sati - to burn the widow thus.
to burn herself like this.

When JaiMall, husband of the daughter of Raja Udhe
 1583 Singh of Jaipur, died, his widow refused to ^{undergo} 'sati'. ~~herself~~
 But such was the force of centuries old traditions that
 her own son determined to burn his mother alive and made
 preparations. When the news reached Akbar, he did not
 issue any order. ~~He was to avoid any delay.~~ He jumped on
 his swiftest horse and galloped off. He rode hard, ^{and} ~~but~~ he
 reached there in time. The culprits were brought before
 him and ~~he~~ sent ~~them~~ to prison.¹

At another time, we find him dissuading a widow from
^{undergoing 'sati'}
~~'satiying' herself.~~ Akbar would have, no doubt, liked
 sati to disappear altogether. When the husband of Rai
 1593 Rai Singh's daughter died, she determined ^{on} ~~to~~ 'sati', ~~herself~~
 Akbar went to Rai Singh's for condolence and was able to
 persuade the lady not to perish ~~herself~~ - not for the love
 of life - for the sake of her young children.²

The
 Cultural
 contacts.

If Akbar did not like Hindu sati, he liked many other
 things Hindu. He enjoyed their epics and romances; he
 liked to know their religion and philosophy. Nal-Daman,³
 Sanghāsan Batīsi,⁴ Rāmāyan,⁵ Mahābhārat,⁶ Atharv Veda,⁷ and
 Hindi and Sanskrit
 other/books were rendered in prose and poetry in

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 402.
 2. " , p. 641.
 3. " , p. 661.
 4. Badaoni, ii, p. 183.
 5. " , p. 366.
 6. " , p. 320.
 - Badaoni, iii, p. 252.
 - " , p. 118.
 7. Badaoni, ii, p. 212.

Persian.ⁱ And among the saints and scholars of the age, the court-historians includes Hindu 'rishis' and scholars side by side with Muslim 'oliya'ⁱⁱ and 'ulama'.ⁱⁱⁱ

- i. The story of the lover Nal and his beloved Daman was composed in Persian poetry, in 'masnavi' by the Poet Laureate, Faizi.

Sanghasan Batisi, Thirty-two short stories about Raja Bikarmajit of Ujjain were written in Persian by Abd-ulQadir Badaoni, the celebrated writer of the Religious history of Akbar. Ramayan's Persian version was also his work, as well as Adharv Veda's.

Mahabharat was done in Persian by Naqib Khan, Badaoni, Mulla Sheri and Haji Sultan Thanetri.

- ii. rishis - saints.
oliya - saints.
ulama - scholars-well versed in islamics.
- iii. There were Madho Sursati, Madhsodan, Narain Asram, Harji Sur, Damodar Bhat, Ram Tirath, Nar Singh, Parm Indar, Adat, Baba Balas, Ram Bhadr, Jadrup and Narain; Madho Bhat, Sri Bhat, Bishan Das, Ram Krishan, Balbhdar Misra, Basdev Misra, Bahn Bhat, Vidiya Navas, Gori Nath, Gopi Nath, Krishan Pandit Bhatacharj, Bhagirt Bhatacharj, Kashi Nath Bhatacharj, Baje Sen Sur and Bhan Chand. (Ain, i, pp. 233-35).

Akbar had also begun to love Hindi names which he would give to his war-elephants, horses, hunting cheetahs, even his weapons.

Among his elephants there were: Khuda Bakhsh, ⁱ/~~N~~/ Balsundar, / Nen Sukh, / Jhalpa, / Gajgajan, Panjpaya, / GajBhanvar, / Cardbāz Dhokar, / Mudhkar, Jangiya, / Subdilya, Kadra, ĀsmanShikoh, Fatoha, / Lakhna, / Ran Bagh, / Kheri Singh, / Gajpati, / Bheron, / Khande Rai, / Mun Singh, / Chitra Nand, / Pandrik, / Poska, Mubārakqadam, / Chachar, / Pavan, / Ran Mohan, / Jagat Rai, / Gaj Mangal, / Lakhmi Sundar, / Mukat, / Gajmukta, / Gaj Raj, / Ranmadār, Shahrukh, Fateh Lashkar, Lal Khan and / Hol Rai.¹

The names of three of his horses are mentioned as Nur-eBeza, / Har Prashād and Shah Ināyat.²

His hunting cheetahs included Dolat Khan, / Samand Naik, / Chatranjan, Dilrang and / Madan Kuli.³

The musket with which Akbar shot dead Jai Mall and Chittor ~~Ball~~ was named / Sangram.⁴

1. AulF, ii, pp. 291, 293, 295, 75, 286, 286, 294, 321, 321, 321, 321, 60, 60, 150, 233, 235, 235, 234, 334, 294.

iii, pp. 239, 92, 92, 436, 820, 365, 365, 365, 365, 365, 174, 175, 175, 819, 815, 107.

2. AulF, iii, pp. 101, 823, 824.

3. " , pp. 94, 45.

ii, p. 371.

iii, p. 94.

ii, p. 363.

4. AulF, ii, p. 320.

⁴/_i = A Hindi name.

Akbar's court physicians and surgeons were Muslims and Hindus both. They included /Mahadev, /Bhim Nath, /Nārāin, /Shivjī. They included /Mahadev, /Bhim Nath^r Sen.²

Akbar loved Indian Music and most of his court musicians, including the most prominent ones like Tan Sen, Ram Das and others were Hindus or Indian Muslimsⁱⁱ, carrying on the traditions of Hindu 'rags'.

1. Ain, i, p. 234.

2. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 484.

i. Does not seem to be correctly spelt in Persian.

ii. There were ^x/Mian Tan Sen, /Nānak Jarjō, /Ram Das, /Shahab Khan, /Pūrbin Khan, /Subhan Khan, /Daud, /Sur Das, /Sarkiyān Khan, /Sarod Khan, /Chānd Khan, /Mian Junned Gavaliyari, /Mian Lāl, /Rang Sen of Agra, /Bachittar Khan, /Tān Tūrang Khan, /Shaikh Dādan, /Mohammad Khan, /Mulla Ishaq Mūltāni, /Rahmat-ullāh, /Sarmandal Khan, Ustad Dost Mashahadi, Mir Sayyad Ali Mushahadi, Ustad Yusuf Harvi, Behram Quli Harvi, Hāfiz Khawja Ali Mashahadi, Qasim Kohbur, Sultan Hasham Mashahadi, Tāsh Beg Qibchaq, Pirzada Khurasani, Ustad Shah Mohammad, Mir Abd-ullah, Sultan Hafiz Hussain, Ustad Mohammad Amin and Ustad Mohammad Hussain. (Ain, i, pp. 263-64).

x. ^{*}/ = Indians - Hindu or Muslim.

It was in the court of Akbar that Hindu and Muslim painters worked together and there evolved the famous Indo-Muslim Mughal painting. To estimate the contribution of the Indian discerning eye, just compare the uniform bulbous faces in most of the Persian miniatures of the period with the individual features of different faces in many mughal paintings. The most distinguished of them were Mir Sayyad Ali Tabrezi, Khawja Abd-usSamad Shirazi, #/ Dasvantⁱ, / Basāvan, / Kesu, / Lal, / Mukand, Maskin, Farrakh Qalmaq, / Madho, / Jagan, / Mahesh, / Khem Kern, / Tara, / Sanwla, / Harbans and / Ram. il

1. AulF, Ain, i, p. 117.

i. There were many others including: / Bhagvati, / Nanha, / Bandi, / Tulsi, / Bishan Das, / Madho Kochak, Aqa Reza, Khusro Quli, Jamshed, / Kesu Khurd, / Jagjivan, / Pars, Ibrahim, / Bhim, / Sur, / DhanRaj, / Tiriyya, / Bhagwan, / Chatesh, / Gobnid, / Banwari, Mukhlis, Sharif, / Tulsi Kochak, / Chitr, two Muslim painters from Lahore, a few Hindu from Gujrat and some from Kashmir.

(Laurence Binyon, Painters in the Court of the Great Moguls - pp. 46, 69, 70. Percy Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals, pp. 65, 114, 115, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123).

i. #/ = A Hindu.

One can see how far Akbar, his government and his court had been Indianised. But this influence was not one-sided. Persian had been made the official language of the Empire.¹ All the Hindus in the government service from a Haft Hazari to a Mutasaddi had to learn it. The linguistic barriers thus broken, in the friendly atmosphere that Akbar created Hindus began to love Muslims and things Muslim. One of the Rajput generals of Akbar was Raja Lunkaran. His son's name was Manohar. But he was called Mohammad Manohar. He learned Persian so well that he began to write Persian poetry. Akbar gave him the title of Mirza and he would be styled as Mirza Manohar. But his father loved his previous name so much and was so proud of it that he would still call him Mohammad Manohar.² Due to the repetition of m's and h's and both the parts of the combination being of equal syllables, it really sounds sweet when ~~we call it~~ ^{spoken aloud}. But to relish its sweetness, the Raja had first to cease to dislike and, perhaps, then to like the person whose name its first part originally was.

And how was this mutual cultural infiltration working? Lunkaran was a relative of Bhar Mall. Hence Bhar Mall's daughter, the Empress, was a relative of boy Manohar and her son, Prince Salim, became Manohar's best playmate.³

1. Khallaq-usSiyyaq, cited in, Sri Ram Sharma, The R.P. of the M.E., p. 62.

2. Badaoni, Muntakhab-utTawarikh, vol. iii, pp. 201-2.

3. Nud Ahmad, Tabqat-eAkbari, vol. ii, p. 452.

The Rajput relatives of Akbar, would hear, in the Royal palace, the word Mohammad appended before the names of many children. If they too liked it, ^{because} ^{the} they liked/children who bore it, and added it before the name of their own sons, it should not surprise us.

Raja Kalyan Mall of Bikaner had named one of his sons Sultan Singh.¹ The name of another Hindu general in the Bengal army was Subhan Singh,² the first part being the word with which a Muslim begins his prayers, five times a day.

Akbar was bringing close Hindus and Muslims. There was no religious persecution. Everybody was allowed to follow the religion he liked. The Hindu festivals of Rakhi, Dusehra and Devali were also celebrated by the Emperor and his Court. For the King's birthday-charities was adopted the Hindu ceremony of Toldān.¹³ There were no sumptuary laws after he himself began to rule. The Hindus were persianised and ^{Turkised} ~~turkanised~~.

This unity of Hindus and Muslims, to live together like brothers, to influence each other-to give rise to an Indo-Muslim culture and civilisation-and a common language, was the achievement of this Monarch.

1. AulF, iii, p. 158.

2. " , p. 611.

3. Ain, i, p. 197.

ⁱThe Emperor was weighed against gold, silver, scents, some metals, minerals, silk, cereals, etc. and they were entrusted to a man in-charge and an accountant and were given away to the needy, Hindus and Muslims. (Ain, i, p. 97).

Akbar is said to have "tried to cement the differences between Hindus and Muslims by inter-communal weddings, making no distinction of caste or creed in the conferment of high titles and offices and above all by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world".¹ It is also claimed that his policy towards Hindus was intricately connected with his later religious views.² But a survey of the chronological record of Akbar's religious beliefs and practices side by side with the measures he took to build his new polity for Hindus and Muslims does not confirm this popular view.

1561 In 1561, Akbar, who was on his pilgrimage to the tomb of the Saint, Muin-udDin Chishti, at Ajmer, married the daughter of Raja Bhar Mall of Amber and enrolled Man Singh into the Imperial service.³

The Emperor who promoted Todar Mall in the Revenue
1563 Department, appointed Shaikh Abd-unNabi Mohaddis, the grandson of the well known saint, Shaikh Abd-ulQaddus Gangohi, as the Sadar, the Chief Justice of the realm and in charge of all endowments throughout the empire.⁴

1. S.R. Sharma, The Mughal Empire in India, vol. i, p. 327.

2. Sri Ram Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, p. 23.

3. AulF, vol. ii, pp. 156-158.

4. Badaoni, ii, pp. 66, 71.

حل و معتمد وزارت باد منوچن بود -

اكر نام - ۲۲ - ۳۳۶۴

On his birthday, in 1565, Akbar was weighed against gold, silver, scents, cereals and other things according to the Hindu Royal ceremony of Toldān and these were distributed among the Brahmans and others. But still when some of the nobles at the end of the expedition against Khan Zaman desired Akbar to forgive the culprit, those who were sent to intercede on his behalf were all 'ulama'¹, Mir Murtaza Sharifi, Mulla Abd-ullah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abd-unNabi Sadar, because he respected their wishes.¹

The Emperor who visited the tombs of Saints at Delhi before the invasion of Rantehpur and paid a visit to the tomb of the Ajmer Saint after its capture, had entrusted Todar Mall with the whole work of 'vazarat' (the Finance Ministry) during the siege.²

Akbar, who begged saints for the life of his children and would send his expectant wives to the 'blessed' house of a saint for delivery, married the niece of Rai Kalyan Mall of Bikaner and the daughter of Raval Har Rai of Jaisalmer.³

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 83-84.
AulF, ii, p. 268.

2. AulF, ii, p. 334.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 224.
AulF, ii, p. 336.

3. AulF, ii, pp. 343-44, 358-59.

i. Scholars-well-versed in Islamics.

In 1571, Akbar pressed his scheme of converting the
1571 obscure village of Sikri into a magnificent Imperial capital,
because it was the home of the Saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti.¹
But the largest of the Royal palaces, the Jahangiri Mahal,
though ~~Islamic~~ ^{like Muslim buildings} spacious, was built in Hindu style and
covered with Hindu detail.

The Emperor gave the name of Madan Kuli to one of the
1571 cheetahs he captured this year. In 1563, he had named
two of the elephants he captured in the jungles of Malwa
as /Kheri Singh and /Gajpati.²

Akbar's war cry during these years was "Allah o Akbar!
1573 Ya Hadi Ya Muin!", Allah o Akbar! Ya Hadi Ya Muin!" The
first was God's name to invoke His help and the second
that of the Ajmer saint to call for his blessings.

But to this repeated invocation Akbar had given the
Hindu name of 'sawarn'.³

The Emperor, who would vow to offer the Royal drums of
1574 his enemy at the tomb of a saint, if his arms were success-
ful, appointed /Rai Bhagwan as the Mustaufi-eMumalik (the
Auditor General) at the centre, and honoured Todar Mall
with a banner and a kettledrum.⁴

1. AulF, ii, p. 365.

2. " , p. 363, 233, 235.

3. AulF, iii, pp. 51, 55.

4. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 299.

AulF, iii, p. 87.

" , p. 103.

Akbar, who would keep awake most nights, repeating
1575 "Ya Hu! Ya Hadi!" "Ya Hu! Ya Hadi!", "Help me my God!
Help me my Guide!", who had such a respect for the Religious
Dignitary, Shaikh Abd-unNabi that he would go to the
extent of placing the Shaikh's footwear before his feet
with his own hands, who had declared that whosoever wished
to go on Haj, the Mecca pilgrimage, could go at state
expense, appointed a Hindu as Mushraf-eDivan of the Empire
and ordered the Atharv Veda to be translated into Persian.¹

The Emperor, who was in the habit of saying his prayers
1576 five times a day and who would bid farewell to his Mir-eHaj,
the leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca, putting on
'ihram' and having his hair cut, as the pilgrims do when
they approach the 'Kaba', with one sheet round his loins
and another round his body with his right shoulder uncovered,
walking along with him for some distance, bare-footed and
bare-headed - his heart full of love and reverence and tears
trickling from his eyes, married the daughter of the Raja of
Dungerpur.²

-
1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 200, 204.
NuD Ahmad, ii, pp. 312-313.
AulF, iii, p. 158.
Badaoni, ii, p. 212.
 2. Badaoni, ii, p. 247.
Badaoni, ii, pp. 238-39.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 327.
AulF, iii, p. 196.

Every important step that the Emperor would take
1577 during these days, was taken after consultation with the
Ecclesiastical Head of the Empire, the Sadar, Shaikh
Abd-unNabi, Todar Mall was appointed as Divan or the
Imperial Finance Minister this year (1577).¹

By the year 1578, the famous Hindu painters of Akbar's
1578 court at least Basawan, Kesu and Sanwla had definitely
entered his service and were working for him.²

X X X

We can see that the process of Akbar's policy towards
Hindus had not been just begun through his political
sagacity thereafter to be completed by his changed religious
views in later years, as Sharma says.³ It had practically
been completed in all its beneficial features by the year
1578.

All that for which Akbar stands in history - toleration
of all religions, equal citizenship for all subjects,
recognition of merit, eligibility of one and all for every
post, even the highest, in the state service and appreciation
of everything appreciable, Hindu or Muslim - was not due to
any deviation from Islam on his part. It was the work of a
keen-sighted statesman.

1. AulF, iii, pp. 233, 213.

2. Percy Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals, p. 114.

3. Sri Ram Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal
Emperors, p. 23.

APPENDIX A.

The chronological record on the one hand of Akbar's religious beliefs and practices and on the other of *this* measures in building his new polity for Hindus and Muslims.

Akbar of 1561 - 1578.

1561. The pilgrimage to the tomb of the saint,
Muin-ud Din Chishti, at Ajmer.
- " Accepted Raja Bhar Mall's matrimonial alliance.
1562. The marriage with the Amber princess.
- " Man Singh enrolled in the Imperial service.
- " Bhagwan Das and his relatives in the
Emperor's service. F,156-58.N,155.
B,50.
- " Raja Budhi Chand serving the Emperor. F,164-65.
- " Todar Mall in the government service;
already wielding certain influence. F,170.
- " Raja Kapur Dev and Raja Ram Chand in
the service. F,193.
- " Tan Sen, the famous Indian musician
received in the court. F,181.
1563. Raja Todar Mall and Rai Pitr Das serving
on the battlefield. F,228.
- " Akbar hunted elephants in the jungles of
Malwa. Two of the elephants engaged were

F = Aulak ii
F̄ = Aulak iii
N = Nuḍ Akhmar ii
B = Badaoni ii

1563. ^{4/} Khande Rai and Bheron. Two of the elephants captured Akbar named as Kheri Singh and Gajpati. F,233-35.
- " Todar Mall promoted in the Revenue Department. B,66.
- " Abd-un Nabi, the grandson of Shaikh Abd-ul Qaddus, a wellknown saint of India, appointed as Sadar, in charge of the Judicial administration, and state endowments throughout the Empire. B,71.
- " Akbar visited the tomb of the Saint, Nizam-ud Din at Delhi. F,201.
- " Arranged for the Mecca pilgrimage of Humayun's wife, Haji Begum. F,243.
1565. Todar Mall, a general.
- " Other Hindus with him, Raja Mittar Sen, Kurmusi, Rai Pitir Das and Raisal. F,261-62.
- " One of those in charge of the Imperial Army, Raja Bhagwan Das. F,265.
- " On his Birthday Akbar weighed against gold, silver, scents and cereals according to the Hindu Royal ceremony of Toldan.
- " The things distributed among the Brahmans and others. B,83-84.
- " Akbar respected the wishes of the 'ulama' like Mir Murtaza Sharifi, Mulla Abd-ul Lah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abd-un Nabi Sadar. F,268.
1566. To the tombs of Saints at Delhi. F,276.
N,202.

1566. To the tombs of Saints at Delhi to beg their support against Khan Zaman. F,288.
- " Hindus in his service, Bhagwan Das, a general, Nathwa Mehra, a scout, Som Nath, a filban, Bansi Das, an executioner. F,291,295
- 1567-68. Todar Mall, a grandee of the Empire. F,299.
- " With Akbar during the seige of Chittor Bhagwan Das, Todar Mall and Rai Pitr Das. F,316,320.
- " Akbar, after the surrender of the fort, to Ajmer, last stages of the journey on foot, to proffer his thanks for the victory at the tomb of the Khawja. F,324.
N,220.
- " Went to see the Saint, Shaikh.Nizam,at Narnol, B,104.
to seek his blessings. N,221.
- " Akbar entered Chittor riding on his elephant, B,104.
Asmanshikoh. Among the elephants with him there were /Gardbaz Dhokar,/Mudhkar,/Jangia and/Subdilya. F,321.
1568. Before marching against Rantehpur, to the tombs of Saints at Delhi, to entreat their support. F,334.
- " To the tomb of his favourite Saint at Ajmer. N,224.
B,108.
- " The Emperor visited the Chishti Saint, Shaikh Salim at Sikri and sought his blessings for the life of his children. A few children born before had all died in infancy.
- 1568-69. The expectant Queen, daughter of Raja Bhar Mall, sent to 'the blessed house' of Shaikh Salim for delivery.
- " The Emperor built a new monastery for the Shaikh and a beautiful mosque nearby. F,343-44
N,225.
B,108-9

1568-69.

In spite of this, during the seige of Rantehpur, Todar Mall, in charge of the whole work of 'vazarat', the Finance Ministry.

F,336.

" Akbar attended the Muslim religious ceremony of the Funeral dinner of Darbar Khan.

N,225.

1569-70.

August, 30, 1569, the Rajput Queen gave birth to her son in the house of a Muslim Saint. The grandson of Raja Bhar Mall was christened Salim after Shaikh Salim.

" The happy father, in pursuance of his vow, started on foot towards Ajmer to offer his thanks to the Khawja.

F,349-50
N, 227.

" From Ajmer to Delhi to visit the tombs of Saints at that place. Among others there were those of the Saint, Qutb-ud Din, Successor of the Khawja of Ajmer and the Saint, Nizam-ud Din, who had inherited his ministry from the Saint, Farid-ud Din of Pakpatan, the Successor of the Saint, Qutb-ud Din.

B,123-24
F,351.
N,227.
B,124.

" Kub Rai Brahm Das, (future Birbar) already prominent.

F,341-42.

1570.

Another prince - Murad - born in 'the blessed house' of Shaikh Salim.

" To Ajmer, because Akbar must visit that tomb at least once a year.

F,353,356
N,228-29.

" From Ajmer to Pakpatan to visit the tomb of the Saint, Farid-ud Din.

B,132-33.
F,358.
N,229-30.
B,133.

د این تاریخ یافتہ : "بَلَقَا" نامِ شریعہ بنیاد۔

برائے - ۲۰۲۰ - ۲۰۲۱

1570. On his way was waited upon by Rai Kalyan Mall of Bikaner and accepted the proposals to marry Kalyan's niece and the daughter of Raval Har Rai of Jaisalmer. F,358-59.
- " Kalyan Mall's son Rai Singh enrolled in the Imperial Service. N,230.
B,133.
- " From Pakpatan to Depalpur. Akbar hunted cheetahs. Captured six and named the finest of them as /Madan Kuli. F,363.
1571. The obscure village of Sikri to become the magnificent Imperial Capital, because Akbar wished to add grandeur to the Spiritual Splendour of the home of Shaikh Salim Chishti. F,365.
- " Still the largest of the Royal Palaces was built on the Hindu style.
1572. Akbar to Ajmer to entreat the Khawja to grace his invasion of Gujret.
- " To the tomb of Mir Sayyad Hussain Khungswar, another Saint. F,371-72.
- " To Gujret. The Capital left in charge of Raja Bhar Mall. N,236.
B,139.
F,19.
- " At Nagor the tidings of the birth of another prince in 'the blessed house' of Shaikh Danyal, a 'mujawar' (attendant) at the tomb of the Ajmer Saint, reached. The Emperor christened him after the Shaikh as Prince Danyal and he was wished to become "the Defender of the Faith of the Prophet". F,373.
N,237.
B,139-40

1572. The prince was ordered to be brought up under the care of the Ranee of Bhar Mall. F,373.
- " Serving in the Gujrat campaign Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Bhupat Kachkwaha, Rai Singh Bikaneri F,5,6,11,14. and others. N,238. B,140.
- " Kub Rai given the title of Raja Birbar. N,256. B,161
- " During theGujrat Campaign Akbar was hunting as usual. A cheetah was set upon a deer. There appeared in front a wide ravine. Up jumped the deer and crossed it. The cheetah too rose equal to the occasion; jumped and pounced and hunted down its prey. The Emperor was much pleased at its unparalleled feat. He installed it as the King of Cheetahs and drums were ordered to be beaten in its honour, before its carriage, whenever on the move. This princely cheetah was Chatranjan. F,371.
1573. From Gujrat. At Ajmer. The Emperor paying his devotions to the Khawja and requesting his blessings in his every undertaking. F,38. N,255-56.
- " Todar Mall sent to study the Mughal Military position in the East and submit a report. F,41.
- " To Gujrat again. The Capital entrusted to the same old man, Raja Bhar Mall. F,43.
- " At Ajmer to beg the favours of the Chishti Saint. F,44. B,165.

1573.

Crying in the heat of the battle,

"Allah o Akbar! Ya Hadi Ya Muin!"

"Allah o Akbar! Ya Hadi Ya Muin!"

F,51,55.

"

Hindus who served the Emperor in the Gujrat expedition, Raja Bhagwan Das, Rai Rai Singh, Jagan Nath, Raisal, Jai Mall, Jagmal Patvar, Raja Dip Chand, Man Singh Darbari, Ram Das Kachhwaha, Ram Chand, Sanwal Das, Jadun Kaith, Dawar Bhalla, Har Das, Tara Chand, Karan, Rupsi, Salbahan, Ranjit, Hapa Charan, Raghu Das Kachhwaha and many others.

F,49-56.

"

From Gujrat. Todar Mall sent to assess the Land Revenue of Gujrat.

F,65.

"

At Ajmer to return his thanks to the Khawja for his victories in Gujrat.

F,65.
N,274.

"

Parma Nand in charge of the Imperial War-boats, Artillery and their personnel.

F,70.

"

On one Friday, Akbar in the Cathedral Mosque at Fatahpur, to say his Friday prayers. The preacher in the pulpit referred to the idolatory of the Prophet's parents and their consequent punishment. Akbar said, "Undoubtedly this statement has'nt any truth in it. When myriads of people are going to be absolved of their sins at the intercession of the Prophet, it is unbelievable that his own father and mother should be deprived of the mercy of Allah",

F,74.

"

The pious Emperor ordered the debts of Saif

1573. Khan Koka and Shaikh Mohammad Bokhari, who had been killed in the Gujrat battles, to be cleared from the Royal treasury "to remove this burden from their life hereafter".

F,73.

" In the second Gujrat expedition when Akbar asked Saif Khan Koka and Mirzada Ali Khan not to attack a lion and endanger their lives, he swore by "the Sacred Dust" clinging to the sole of the Prophet's footwear.

F.45.

" Todar Mall sent to the East to expedite operations against Bengal. He was expected to be treated as Emperor's supervising representative.

F,71.

" Rai Ram Das appointed to officiate for Todar Mall as Divan at the centre.

F.80.

" End of the month of Ramazan. Akbar celebrating the Islamic festival of I'd. In the assemblage Khawja Abd-ush Shahid, grandson of the Saint, Nasir-ud Din Abd-ul Lah Ihrar, in a corner. The Emperor got him seated beside his own self.

F,78.

1574. To Ajmer to entreat success for his arms against Daud in Bengal. Accompanied by the five year old Prince Salim. The little prince also offered his prayers at the tomb of the Khawja.

N,277-79.
B,171-72.

" To Patna. Sent a large sum of money to be distributed among the people at the tomb of Shaikh Yahya in the village of Munir.

F,79.

F,94.

1574. From Patna. To Delhi to visit the tombs
of the Saints there. F,110.
N,298-99.
- " Daud defeated. From Delhi to Ajmer to
offer his fulsome thanks to the Khawja. Presented
two of the Royal drums of Daud at the tomb, which
he had vowed to do at the beginning of the war. In
the company of the 'ulama' and 'mushaikh' and in the
assemblies of 'sama' at the tomb. F,110.
N,299.
B,184.
- " Rai Bhagwan appointed as the Mustaufi-e
Mumalik (the Auditor General) at the centre,
displacing Tayyab Khan. F,87.
- " Rai Parkhotam, a Bakhshi F,87.
- " Munim Khan to conquer Bengal. Todar Mall
sent with him, after having been honoured with a
banner and a kettledrum. F,103.
- " Badaoni ordered to translate into Persian
the book "Sanghasan Batisi", Thirty-two Tales about
Raja Bikemajit, King of Malwa. B,183.
1575. Bhawan, a Brahman, embraced Islam. Became
one of the closest friends of the Emperor. B,212.
- " Building of the 'Ibadatkhana' or the House of
Discussions ordered. F,112.
N,310.
B,198.
- " For the above the 'hujra' (a cubicle) of
Shaikh Abd-ul Lah Niazi Sarhandi, a former disciple
of Shaikh Salim Chishti, rebuilt and extensions added. B,201.
- " The Emperor loved the company of the 'ulama'
and 'mushaikh' and the religious discussions, which he
considered a part of worship. B,200.
- x sama = devotional singing.

1575.

Akbar kept awake most nights, repeating "Ya Hu! Ya Hadi!"; his heart filled with awe and love of the Almighty.

B,200.

"

Would go out before the daybreak and sit on a plank of stone, in solitude, in all humility, in deep meditation ('maraqiba') with his eyes closed and his head bent upon his chest.

B,200.

"

The building of the Ibadatkhana completed. On every Friday, after the congregational prayers, the pious discussions held therein. Similarly Thursday evenings. The discussions continued till daybreak.

N,311-12

B,201-202

"

Such a respect for Shaikh Abd-un Nabi that would go to his house to listen to the discourse of 'the Hadis'. Once or twice placed the Sadar's footwear with his own hands before his feet when he needed to wear them.

B,204.

"

Prince Salim sent to the 'hujra' of the Shaikh to learn 'the Chahl Hadis'.

B,204.

"

A Royal farman issued. The 'aimma' (priests in mosques) throughout the Empire were not to be given the proceeds of the 'Madad-e Muash' lands or any other sort of stipend unless they produced a new farman to this effect from the Sadar, Shaikh Abd-un Nabi.

B,204.

"

After the conquest of Gujrat and the capture of seaports, Akbar thought of sending a caravan of

1575. pilgrims to Hijaz, from Hindustan, like those from Egypt and Syria, at the State expense, under his own Mir-e Haj annually.

The Emperor's aunt, Gulbadan Begam, and his wife, Salima Sultan Begam to the 'Harmain' (Mecca and Al-Medina). Akbar declared that whosoever wished to join them, could have the expenses from the Royal treasury.

N,312-13.
B,213.

" Shaikh Abd-un Nabi and Makhdum-ul Mulk were ordered to assess Jizia upon Hindus.

B,210.

" Qazi Jalal and other 'ulama' asked to write a commentary on the Quran.

B,211.

" Badaoni ordered to translate into Persian the Atharv Veda.

B,212.

" Todar Mall appointed the "Mushraf-e Divan' at the centre.

F,158.

1576. To Ajmer, ^{the} last fifteen miles on foot, in honour of the Khawja, as usual. Akbar took Kanwar Man Singh with him within the Sepulchre of the Khawja, and had a talk with him in private, and begged for the Khawja's support. Then he was given the robes of honour and sent in command of fifteen thousand soldiers, Hindu and Muslim, against Rana Partap. Other Hindu officers who accompanied him were Jagan Nath, Madho Singh, Khankar and Rai Lunkaran.

F,163-65.
N,320-21.
B,227-28.

" The Rana defeated. Akbar to Ajmer for the thanksgiving service. Reached there on the day of Khawja's 'urs' (death anniversary).

F,184-85.
N,325.
B,238.



و نغمه و سرود در میان می آید و از باب و جبهه دزدی را حایا می شود -

لمبات اکری - ۲۹ - ۳۳۱۴

و مجلس سماع شمع شده و مریضان شیخ و جبهه عال کردند -
لمبات اکری - ۲۹ - ۳۳۵۴

1576. Specially ordered his workshop for a fine 'doshala' for Shaikh Abd-un Nabi. B,237.
- " Possessed with an ardent desire for pilgrimage to Mecca and Al-Medina. But the cares of kingship would not allow his absence. His Mir-e Haj, Sultan Khawja to perform Haj on his behalf. The Khawja was given twelve hundred robes and six hundred thousand rupees to distribute among the deserving at the 'Harmain'. F,191-92
Announced that whosoever wished to go on Haj, could go N,325-26.
at the State expense. B,238-39.
- " Bade farewell to Khawja Sultan, putting on 'ihram', bareheaded and bare-footed as if approaching the Kaba. His heart was full of love and reverance and tears were trickling from his eyes. Those who saw him thus were also moved. N,327.
B,238-39.
- " In the habit of saying his prayers five times a day, 'ba jamaat', at the fixed times. B,247.
- " Married the daughter of the Raja of Dungarpur. F,196.
1577. To Ajmer to the tomb of the Khawjs. On the way, at Martha, bade farewell to his Mir-e Haj, Shah Abu Turab. F,216-17
Once again declared, anybody could go to Mecca free of N,334.
charge. B,251.
- " At Ajmer, in the assembly of the 'ulama', 'derveshes', and 'sama'. N,334.
- " From Ajmer. At Narnol, to see Shaikh Nizam Narnoli. N,335.
In the 'sama'. B,252.
F,227.
- " From Narnol to Delhi. Visited the tombs of

1577. Saints. To the tomb of his father Humayun - a visit which he never omitted whenever at Delhi. N,335-36
B,252.
F,228.
- " From Delhi to Hansi. Went to see Shaikh Jamal Hansvi. N,336.
F,232.
- " Akbar repeating, "Ya Hadi!", "Ya Hadi!" ("My Guide!", "My Guide!" - the Ajmer Saint) day and night.
- Christened Badaoni's son as Abd-ul Hadi. B,252.
- " Mulla Abd-ul Lah Sultanpuri appointed as the Provincial Sadar of Punjab. F,234.
- " Sent Prince Murad himself to escort Molana Mohammad Amin Yazdi to the house of Shaikh Abd-un Nabi.
- The Shaikh was asked to help the Molana, because he had been given the complete patronage of the 'mushaikh' and 'ulama', even more than that. Every important step that the Emperor would take was taken after consultation with the Shaikh. F,232-33
- " Todar Mall was appointed as Divan at the centre. F,213.
1578. From Hansi to Pakpatan. At the tomb of the Saint, Farid-ud Din. N,337.
B,253.
F,236.
- " From Punjab to Ajmer. In time for the Khawja's 'urs'. To Fatahpur. N,339.
B,254.
F,251.
- " At the Capital. Most of the time in the Ibadatkhana, in the company of the 'ulama' and 'mushaikh'. The religious discussions. Especially on Thursday evenings, when continued till daybreak. N,339.
B,255.
F,252-53.
- " Khawja Mohammad Yahya appointed as Mir-e Haj and

1578. given four hundred thousand rupees to be distributed among the 'mashaikh' and 'ulama' of the Holy Cities.

N,341.

" Todar Mall put in charge of the Bengal Mint.

B,267.

F,264.

The Emperor carried out the reform of the Mints in consultation with him and Khawja Abd-us Samad Shirazi, Shirin Raqam, the Chief Artist of the Emperor's Court.

F,227.

" By this year, 1578, the famous Hindu painters of Akbar's court, Basawan, Kesu and Sanwla, had definitely entered his service. There were already many other Hindus also like Dhan Raj, Bhim, Sur, Tiriyya, Bhagwan, Chatesh, Nanha, Gobind, and Banwari.

PB,114.

And the 'ulama' did not object to Akbar's policy of co-operation and intercommunal weddings. They did not consider it harmful for the Muslim Faith or the Muslim State. When they did object, it was later, and to something very different. Rather they co-operated with the Hindu officials of the State. When Raja Bhar Mall was the Emperor's 'Vakil' at the Capital, at the time of the first Gujrat expedition, Makhdum-ul Mulk Mulla Abd-ul Lah Sultanpuri, worked with him as the 'Wazir'.¹

When Akbar marched towards Patna, in 1574, he was accompanied by Raja Bhagwan Das, Kanwar Man Singh, Shaikh Abd-un Nabi and Qazi Yaqub at one and the same time.²

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 151.

2. Aulf, iii, p. 87.

دین و دنیا را مبدل باد کین فرقه معتبره - از برای انتظام دنیا و دین پیشنهاد -

اثر نام - ۳۲ - ۴ - ۱۵۱

چنان رونق گرفت از عدل تو دین

که هندو می زند شمشیر اسد

بر آئین - ۲۲ - ۴ - ۲۳۲

در باره آری - ۷۷۰



When Akbar married Prince Salim with the Amber princess, the poet was singing that the marriage was contracted for the glorification of the State and the exaltation of the Faith.¹

The Muslims, even the 'ulama', would gladly accept the command of a Hindu general. They considered themselves as if fighting under Akbar himself.²

And once when Kanwar Man Singh was given a military charge, the court poet, Sheri, wrote an 'Ode to the Emperor', in which he said,

"Such is the exaltation of our Faith,
 due to your justice, my lord!
 That even the Hindu has begun to wield
 the Sword of Islam".³

- - - - -

1. Aulf, iii, p. 451.

2. Badaoni, ii. p. 228.

3. " , p. 233.

Azad, Darbar-e Akbari, p. 770.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AKBAR'S BELIEFS AND SHAIKH MUBARAK'S
PLAN FOR HIS RELIGIOUS HEADSHIP. 1556-1579.

Humayun was an intensely religious man. Hamida, Akbar's mother, was the daughter of a learned and saintly father. The domestic atmosphere could not fail to affect the boy. He grew up to be a very religious young man. His emotional nature and compassionate heart added zest to this sort of life. He was ever attached to the tombs of saints where there was food for his soul - intense worship and the best of devotional music.

Akbar had to fight against odds from the very beginning. He would entreat God for help and beg the favours of saints. When he won ~~the battle on various points~~ ^{his struggles}, the religious Emperor began to think his success the result of 'a special favour of God'. Successive victories and repeated escapes from danger developed the idea that he was 'the Chosen of God', who was always on his side. His trust in God was the outcome of favourable circumstances, which he attributed to 'the Will of God'. An outline of events will illustrate this.

Akbar became an orphan when only twelve, and an orphan on the throne. The regent soon became intolerably over-bearing. The situation was depressing. Akbar would seek solitude and sit alone in melancholy contemplation.¹ He was not allowed adequate funds. His elephants, his main entertainment, were snatched from him.² Old nobles of his father were being put to death one after another. Tardi Beg had been sentenced to death; Khawja Mahmud's death was

1. AulF, ii, pp.60-61.

2. " p.62.

was compassed.¹ Akbar's helplessness was complete, ~~his~~
~~forlornness positive.~~ The Queen Mother determined to fight
for her son's rights. They had to fight against a stronger
1560 enemy. But they won the battle and the Grand Regent fell.

The influence of Maham was supreme. Her son, Adham,
1561 was misbehaving and Akbar had to connive even at ~~murders~~
murders at their hands.² When no one was there to help him,
Akbar's thoughts would turn to his God for help.

In some moods he tried to see if his Lord was displeased
with him. Mounting a giant elephant, he would set it to
1561 fight against an equally vicious brute. Over the ground and
over the stream, one would pursue the other. The bridge of
boats would submerge and sway, but the Royal rider was firm
on the neck. The fight was over, the savages tamed and
Akbar was safe. He was convinced: God did not want his
death. He was to live. He was to accomplish his task.
His Lord would go with him.³

One night he was riding from Agra to Fatahpur. Near the
1561 village of Mandhakar musicians were singing. Akbar listened.
The spell of music worked on him. They were singing the
praises of the saint, Khawja Muin-udDin Chishti. Akbar
decided to visit his tomb at Ajmer. He went there, proffered

1. AulF, ii, pp. 32, 70-71.

2. " , p. 143.

3. " , pp. 150-152.

his supplications and begged the Saint to help him by interceding on his behalf and securing for him the support of God.

At this time the dacoits of Sakit, about sixty-miles from Agra, were well-established in their eight villages and well-known for their forays. Akbar happened to go hunting on that side. They had robbed a Brahman and killed his son. On the Emperor's approach, he sought redress. With nearly two hundred men only, who were with him at the moment, Akbar marched against them. Instead of begging his forgiveness, they strengthened their positions to oppose him. ~~Because they were four thousand in number.~~ Akbar ordered the assault and he rode his elephant Kohshikoh to ram a wall himself. He fought so well that his Fojdār Alāwal Khan, who could not see his face behind the shield, cried out in applause, "Who are you, the brave man? Let me know your name. I shall commend you to my King". Akbar removed his shield a bit from his face and the Fojdar recognised him. Seven arrows reached Akbar's shield and five of them pierced it through. But none reached his body. He was doubly convinced. "It was the Grace of God that shielded him."²

Khan-eĀzam Shams-udDin Mohammad Atka Khan, after his return from Panjab, in 1561, became the King's chief minister. Adham Khan, Māham's son, and a few others, grew jealous of him. Adham had him killed in his own presence, in the

1. AulF, ii, pp. 154-155.

2. " , pp. 162-165.

The "The Chosen of the Lord"

1562 Royal palace, where he was working, and then with sword in hand proceeded towards the Royal residence. The ~~cunuch~~ at the gate well gauged his treasonable intentions and ~~closed~~ locked the door. Akbar who was sleeping inside was aroused by the noise. He enquired and came to know what had happened. Just when he was coming out of the door one of the harem maids without his asking for it, handed his sword to him. By chance he did not take the door outside which Adham was standing. When Akbar approached Adham he got hold of both ^{of} his hands and began to argue. Akbar let his own sword go, released his hand and stretched it to get hold of Adham's sword. Instantly Adham's hand turned towards his sword. But before he reached it, swordless Akbar gave him a blow in the face and knocked him senseless. He was bound and twice thrown from heights. His neck ^{was} broken and his ^{head was} ~~brains were~~ crushed out. Akbar believed it was not his own hand but that of God that gave the blow.¹

A second attempt on his life, at Delhi, next year, also
1563 failed. An arrow that struck him on the right shoulder only slightly injured him. But his assailant, Qatlaq Folad, was cut to pieces on the spot and later, one of his accomplices, Sharf-udDin Hussain was killed in Bihar and another, Shah Abu-lMuali, was hanged in Kabal. Akbar, so he must have felt, "was being protected by the Grace of God and the blessing of the favourites of God."²

1. AulF, ii, pp. 174-176.

2. " , pp. 201-202, 207.

AulF, iii, pp. 325-326.

The traitors at home were killed, but there were traitors 1566 abroad. The chief of them was Ali Quli Khan Uzbek, the man who defeated Hemu in the battle of Panipat and was rewarded with the title of Khan Zaman and the governorship of Jonepur. A most intrepid soldier and successful general, he was not an ordinary noble in rebellion. His following was large; his relations with many of the nobles of the court were intimate and his rebelliousness and submissiveness had ever been diplomatic and opportune. He had been the refuge of malcontents from the Emperor's court long since. His right-hand man was his younger brother, Bahadur Khan, a playmate and class-fellow of Akbar himself. When Mirza Hakim invaded Lahore, in 1566, and Akbar, marched towards Panjab, the Uzbek brothers rebelled once again and the 'Khutba' was read in the name of Mirza Hakim. As soon as the news reached Lahore, Akbar had made his final decision. The young King of less than twenty-five marched in person against the seasoned general - to put an end to his trouble for ever.¹ Akbar was full of self-confidence. On the way, when two of his prominent elephants died suddenly and some people took it as ominous, Akbar said, "Nay, their death is of good augury. Both the wretches will be killed in the ensuing battle".²

When Akbar heard that Khan Zaman was nearby and decided to attack him at once, he had to cross the Ganges, which was

1. AulF, ii, pp. 285, 288-90.

2. " , p. 286.

then in flood. Akbar rode in his elephant. And "the fierce waters gave way!" - "due to the sheer good fortune of the Emperor". It was "a clear sign of his triumph."¹

Just before the battle, the war-elephant Khuda Bakhsh calmed down and 'fojdars' and 'filbans' were sorry for it. But Akbar was an optimist. He said, "If the elephant has come to its senses, it foretells our victory. Because the victory is always for the sensible", and then he added, "Due to its calming down, we have lost faith in elephants and their war-temper. Our sole dependence, in this battle, is now on the help of God - and whosoever trusts Him, is ever successful."²

Akbar was successful. The "victory was for the sensible". The "clear sign of his triumph" proved true. Both "the wretches were killed in the battle". Akbar's trust in his God and confidence in his own self were tenfold.

In 1567, Akbar besieged the fort of Chittor. The siege was protracted and there was tough fighting. Akbar himself directed the siege. Where the shots of muskets and cannon fell thickest, he would walk slowly and complacently. A big shot from the enemy cannon fell just near him. Twenty of his men were killed. But he was safe. "His God was taking care of him."³

Akbar marched out to conquer Gujrat, in 1572. On the way he received the good news of the birth of another son at

1. AulF, ii, p. 291.

2. " , p. 292.

3. " , p. 319.

Ajmer. And he took it as an auspicious omen foretelling his victories in the west.¹

By this time he had become so confident of the strength of his arms, that he had taken on his march to battle his harem and babies, ~~with him~~.²

After the surrender of Ahmadabad, he marched against the rebel, Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, in Baroda. The Mirza left the fort of Broach and was to pass the Imperial camp at the distance of about twenty-four miles. The news was brought to Akbar at midnight. Most of the generals had already been despatched to various directions. Akbar decided to attack the Mirza himself and started at once. The main army was left behind. Akbar would not allow more than forty men to go with him. He did not want to scare away the enemy. When very earnestly entreated by his nobles to have more men with him, he replied, "My trust in God assures me that I won't need armies to get rid of this culprit."³

Ibrahim Mirza was reported to be in the town of Sarnāl, at the distance of about twelve miles, on the other side of the river, and with a large army. It was, afternoon. Akbar consulted his men. A 'shabkhun', the night attack was suggested.

1. AulF, ii, p. 373.

2. " , p. 372.
AulF, iii, p. 12.

3. " , p. 12.

He did not like this dishonest dealing. He was for an attack before night. They had to gallop hard. To his companions he called, "Take courage, my friends, take courage". With forty men, ^{he} was going to attack hundreds! They reached the river bank and ^{there put on} ~~began to wear~~ armour. On the other side stood Sarnāl, on the top of a ridge. Here they were joined by men Akbar had sent for. All together they came to about two hundred.

The Emperor rode his horse into the deep water. "All praise to God! Due to the sacred self of the Emperor" it proved fordable!"¹

The scene of the battle outside Sarnāl was a ground rifted into narrow lanes, fenced with prickly cactus. No two horsemen could ride side by side.

In the heat of the battle, when Akbar had but one personal companion, he was attacked by three. One of the assailants was engaged by his companion. But two were on Akbar. He spurred up his horse, goaded it over the cactus hedge and attacked them. They retreated and galloped away, "afraid of the heavenly power that attended his arms."²

The Mirza was defeated. Akbar was victorious. "The human power could not achieve it. It was due to the special favour of God."³

-
1. AulF, iii, pp. 13-14.
 2. " , p. 15.
 3. " , p. 16.

But when Akbar had returned to the Capital, ^{the} Mirzas
1573 rallied their forces again and AzizKoka, the governor left
in charge, was unable to cope with the situation. He wrote
for help to Akbar who at once prepared to march in person
to relieve his 'dear Aziz'. The Royal harem was sent in
advance. The young Alexander of Hindustan started soon ^{with} ~~on~~
swift ^{camels} ~~camelry~~, traversing the deserts of central India.¹

Near the village of Jitaran a black deer was sighted.
Akbar said, "If Samand Naik cheetah catches hold of this
deer, Mohammad Hussain Mirza will fall into our hands."
The cheetah was set on and the deer was killed.²

Akbar wished to take the shorter route through Sirohi.
The nobles insisted upon the safer route through Jalaur.
He would not listen to them. Because "his trust in God was
firm and he ever expected His help in need."³

In nine days he covered six hundred miles and on the
eleventh his three thousand men were encamped against
twenty thousand of the enemy. He shunned the suggestion
of a 'shabkhun' and ordered the drums of battle. He
commanded his forces across the river which lay between them.
His nobles requested him to wait till reinforcements from
Pattan arrived. He refused. They entreated him to remain
on this side of the river. He refused. They talked of
the superior numbers of the enemy. He replied, "In every-

1. AulF, iii, pp. 43-44.

2. " , pp. 44-45.

3. " , p. 45.

thing I trust my Lord. In this expedition my sole help comes from Him. If I had thought of worldly means of success I would not have come to fight with a handful of men in a distant land like this. Now when the enemy is ready for war in front of us, to stand and wait does not behove."¹

The nobles still hesitated to cross the river. Akbar galloped his horse into the water and they had to follow him. "As soon as the Emperor entered the river, it became shallow!"²

Akbar called for his helmet. It was brought to him. The piece covering ~~the~~ nose and part of face had fallen off on the way. He said, "Allright. An auspicious sign. Our front is cleared!"³

When the enemy approached quite close, his men and he himself unsheathed their swords and attacked them and were crying, "Allah o Akbar! Ya Muin! Alloh o Akbar! Ya Muin!"⁴

Thrice he was personally attacked. Thrice he was able to repulse his assailants. The first of them struck the head of his horse, and maddened it with pain. Akbar got hold of its neck and hurled his lance at the enemy. The second approached and tried to strike ~~at~~ his thigh. The third came and threw his lance at him. But Akbar came safely through, unhurt, uninjured.⁵ The battle was won.

1. AulF, iii, p. 52.

2. " , pp. 52-53.

3. " , p. 53.

4. " , p. 55.

5. " , pp. 56-57.

Mohammad Hussain Mirza had fallen a prisoner in his hands.

Akbar was offering thanks to his God and only a few men were around him, when suddenly, there appeared a huge force with hundreds of war-elephants. Mohammad Hussain's ally Ikhtiyar-ulMulk was approaching. All were alarmed except the Emperor himself. Bhagwan Das and a few others with him were not steady in shooting arrows. Akbar said, "Don't lose your equilibrium. Await the help of God. Soon they will bring in his head."¹

And this happened, for in riding Ikhtiyar-ulMulk's horse struck a hedge of cactus and crashed to the ground. Sohrab Turkoman reached him and cut off his head.² The help of God had come!

Akbar's trust in God and himself had become intoxicating. Successive events had confirmed it. He had begun to think 1573 himself invincible. At Patna, in 1573, he invited Daud, the Afghan King of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to a duel - "the country will belong to one who, by the Will of God, comes out victorious". Daud would not accept the offer.³

Patna fell and Akbar entered the city. Leaving the main army behind, he decided to pursue Gujar Khan, the chief general of Daud. The river Panpan which had to be crossed was in spate. Many of the fleeing Afghans, inspite of the fact that they knew the river quite well had just

1. AulF, iii, pp. 59-61.

2. " , p. 61.

3. " , p. 97.

been drowned. But Akbar plunged his horse into the river. The rest had to follow. "But they were crossing the river in the company of the good fortune of the Emperor." Not a single man was lost.¹

Such was Akbar of thirty, favourite of events, product of accidents, protégé of victories - creature of circumstances, religious and devotional who considered himself 'the Chosen of God'.

Akbar was also interested in religious discussions. He had filled his court with 'ulama'. When Badaoni, 'an ālim,'ⁱ was presented in the court, in 1573, he was introduced as a very smart debater, "a mace for the head of Haji Ibrahim Sarhandi", the chief of the court scholastic debaters. Akbar asked Badaoni to criticize certain views of Haji Ibrahim and he was to defend himself. The Emperor himself played the judge.²

The same fondness for scholastic debates led the Emperor to order the construction of the 'Ibadatkhana', in 1574. The building was completed next year and debates began to take place in right earnest. Akbar was honestly religious and sincere in his piety. He was zealous in his worship as a Muslim and considered the discussions of

1. AulF, iii, pp. 100-101.

2. Badaoni, ii, pp. 172-173.

i. an 'ālim' - a scholar, especially of Islamics.

religious topics a part of worship.¹ But he had begun to play with dangerous material.

~~The~~ ^{legal} scholasticism, jurisprudence and ~~other~~ religious discussions, where the sole authority is quoting and interpreting writers of the past, ^{may yield} ~~is~~ a very elastic ^{form} ~~of argument~~. Most of the priestly class were too proud of their scholarship to accept one another's views. The respect and influence they enjoyed as religious pontiffs had corrupted many of them. The weight of their support when given being amply rewarded, many of them in the court service would not hesitate to distort "the clear rulings of religion" to confirm Royal actions. Set against them were those courageous spirits who would make no concession to the King's wishes. There were, moreover, the usual petty jealousies of human nature and the tactlessness of the martyr type. All this soon caused trouble and led to Akbar's estrangement from the priestly class.

Distrust
of the
'ulama'.

1575 First of all there arose dissatisfaction about the precedence in the seating arrangements and Akbar had to allot different sections to various classes.¹

The discussions themselves, degenerated into wrangles, full of loud voices and irrelevance.

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 202.

i. Hence the name of the House of Worship, i.e. the Ibadatkhana, for the House of Discussion.

1575 Akbar was much annoyed and appointed a man to report the misbehaviour.¹

The only prominent man of the priestly class whose life was above reproach and whose virtues commanded wide respect was Sayyad Mohammad of Amroha, Mir-eAdl or the chief magistrate of the Capital. He could not be expected to compromise for the King's sake and he was very outspoken. And his words carried weight. A very disturbing element. Once when Haji Ibrahim Sarhandi gave a ruling in favour of red or orange dress, inspite of the fact that the Prophet disliked these colours for men, and at the same time appended a spurious 'hadis' to confirm it, because Akbar used to wear dress of these colours, the Mir rebuked him in the very presence of the Emperor and was going to strike him with his staff when he betook himself away. ~~Silence was the utmost that could be afforded on such points, not confirmation.~~

1575 Akbar, therefore, before putting forward disconcerting problems for legal opinion, appointed him governor of Bhakkar and he was awarded robes of honour with a sword and horse. He was sent away from the court, though with due respect.² But there were others who did not prove pliant.

The large number of his wives seemed to weigh heavy on the Emperor's religious mind. First of all he sought

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 202.

2. " , pp. 210-211.

opinion on this point.¹

Akbar was not prepared to limit himself to the permissible number of four and divorce the rest of his wives. He knew that a shia could have more than four wives. He did not want to become a shia, but he wanted a legalisation of his marriages.

The 'ulama' might have put their heads together and tried to find out (as it was actually found out at last) some solution of his problem. But they, especially the more important, like Abd-unNabi, Makhdum-ulMulk and Qazi Yaqub, would not help him out of his difficult position. They might not have liked the sham proceeding adopted to overcome the difficulty. The result was that Akbar was much displeased with them.²

However, a way of escape was found for the Emperor. Besides ordinary marriage, once there was made a special provision, primarily for soldiers who were/kept fighting away from home. Under this, soldiers were allowed to contract a marriage at the place where they were on active service, on the understanding that it **could** terminate when they returned home. The children were, of course, the liability of the father. There was laid no limit to the number of such marriages as it depended upon one's periods of military service at different places, which, no doubt,

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 207.

2. " , p. 208.

could not be expected to be more than one or at the most two in early life. Neither was there any compulsion to terminate such a marriage; the man might not have four wives already. ~~Imam Malik allowed it.~~ ~~But later~~ Imam Āzam, ^{onced} seeing the system abused, declared it illegal. Availing of this provision one could have, besides four wives, as many more wives as one liked to have and still remain within the letter of the law. Such marriages were called 'muta' marriages. They were ^{once permitted in the Maliki} ~~legal among the followers of~~ ^{system of Fiqah and were quite common among the Shias.} ~~Imam Malik and quite common among the Shias.~~

Muslims, besides the Shias, recognise the authority of every one of the four founders or Imams of the four systems of jurisprudence for their respective followers. But if in a country, at a certain time, the Qazi, the highest ^{legal} ~~jurist~~ authority, belonging to one of the systems, pronounces a certain practice legal for all, it becomes so for the followers of other systems as well, inspite of the fact that it was illegal according to their own. This provision for uniform legal procedure in a state, was pointed out to Akbar by AlBadaoni, a Hanfi like Abd-unNabi and Makhdum-ulMulk themselves.¹

Akbar was a Hanfi or a follower of Imam Āzam AbuHanifa. So was the jurist authority in his realm, Qazi Yaqub. Akbar dismissed him and appointed in his place Qazi Hussain Arb-Malik.

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 208-209.

وَلَذِكْرُ اللَّهِ أَكْبَرُ ۚ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ ۖ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ ۚ

a follower of Imam Malik. He pronounced the legality of 'muta' marriages for all throughout the Empire. Akbar's marriages were thus legalized.¹

But Qazi Hussain Malki, when he had performed the happy duty entrusted to him, was soon replaced by Qazi Jalal-udDin Multani, a Hanfi again.² Akbar, perhaps, did not like others to follow in his footsteps. He was legalizing old marriages. Others might contract new ones.

At this time Akbar ^{*favoured*} ~~liked~~ the Quranic words, 'Allah o Akbar' which meant 'God (Allah) is great (Akbar)' to be engraved on the Royal Seal and become the legend ^{*on*} ~~of~~ his coins and invited juristic opinion ~~on~~ this. Most of the 'ulama' consented to it. But Haji Ibrahim said, "Better if the words 'Repeat worshipfully-God is great' are used. The phrase God is Akbar (great) might be taken as if conveying ^{*the sense*} ~~the influence~~ - "Akbar is God." Akbar replied that there was no question of his claiming to be God; he liked the phrase simply because the word 'akbar' was therein and it was in praise of God.¹ But the trouble was one or the other religious experts must say something in matters religious. Akbar did not like this criticism.³

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 209.

2. " , pp. 209-210.

3. " , p. 210.

i. As Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna would not sign his name as Madmud, which means 'the praised' or 'worthy of praise' (to be praised) but as 'HovalMahmud' meaning 'worthy of praise is only He (God)' or 'He' (God) is ^{*only*} ~~only~~ the praised' or 'He (God) is to be praised'.

Meetings in the Ibadatkhana were after all social gatherings of human beings and soon human traits entered 1575 therein. Pungent humour began to ~~spice~~ the discussions. Akbar, the Saint, would also descend and enjoy the caustic comments. Thus encouraged, the antagonists of those who were in power and enjoyed respect, began to defame their opponents. The result was that they themselves and the class they represented were discredited in the eyes of Akbar.

Mukhdum-ulMulk Mulla Abd-ullah Sultanpuri¹ was much respected and was called Shaikh-ulIslam. He had been in the good books of Akbar himself. At the time of the invasion of Gujrat, in 1572, he was left behind at the Capital as a 'wazir' with the 'vakil', Raja Bhar Mall of Amber.¹ Now he began to be slighted in the Ibadatkhana

1. Badaoni, ii, p.151.

i. He had seen good days. He enjoyed Humayun's confidence; Sher Shah respected him; was in power under Salim Shah Sur. After the death of Salim Shah, he invited Humayun to invade India. He did not invite him in words, written or oral. Detection would have meant his destruction.

He sent Humayun a pair of shoes and a whip through a trader.. They were to convey the message, "Put on the shoes and whip your horse to invade India." (Azad, (Darbar-eAkbari) p. 312.)

It was Humayun who gave him the title of Makhdum-ul Mulk, and he was also known as Shaikh-ulIslam. He was a jurist and a scholar and had amassed wealth under many regimes. (Azad, Darbar-eAkbari, p. 311).

discussions. One night Khan Jahan stated that Makhdum-ul Mulk had given the ruling that the pilgrimage to Mecca did not remain binding upon Muslims. His argument was ingenious, because if one went through Persia, one had to hear unworthy things about the wars and the campaigns of the Prophet, from the Shias, and if by sea, one had to get from the Portuguese a security-writ on which images of Mary and Christ were printed, which was like ¹ countenancing image worship.

Another interesting statement about him related how he had invented an ingenious device to escape the payment of 'zakat'. The 'zakat' is one fortieth of one's capital which has been in one's hands for the last twelve months. Makhdum-ul Mulk was said to hand over all his wealth to his wife towards the end of a year and, before the next year had run out, to take it back again. Many other similar stories would depict him ² as "Shylock, the Jew".

1575.

The other religious dignitary was Shaikh Abd-un Nabi, the Sadar. Not only his opponents were active against him, but he himself also became a victim of wealth and power. Akbar had ordered this year that no endowments or stipends were to be allowed unless the farman or the warrant thereto had been inspected and renewed by the Chief Sadar. Thousands of people, from all parts of the country, therefore, flocked to the Capital. Even the biggest Amirs would go to see the

1. Badaoni, ii, p.203.

2. " p.203.

Respected Sadar to request the renewal of endowment of some good man they respected. The Emperor had given him the carte blanche. His powers demoralised him. He ~~would~~ ^{did} not ~~care~~ ^{choose} to decide the cases of the multitude awaiting outside his Sadar Court, day after day, months in and months out. Away from their homes, strangers in Agra, their plight was miserable. Only those ~~would~~ ^{ed} succeed in their object, who could either bribe his subordinates or bring in the recommendations of some noble of the court. His attitude towards others was also becoming haughty and lacking in respect.¹ Akbar was not unaware of the ~~ex~~ discreditable proceedings.²

Shaikh
Mubarak
and
Abu-lFazl

But in the IbadatKhana discussions there had already entered another element. In 1575, Abu-lFazl presented himself in the court for the second time and entered the 1575 Emperor's service. His elder brother, Faizi, had already joined the court as a poet. Their father, Shaikh Mubarak's relations with Akbar had become intimate after Faizi's entrance in the Court. His influence was now doubly established. He was not in the Court permanently, but would often visit the Emperor.

The religious discussions in the Court so far had no ^{quid} motive working behind them. They were ends in themselves. The intellectual wranglers would fight to win a point.

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 204-206.

2. " , p. 205.

But with the entry of Abu-lFazl in these discussions there entered a motive,¹ slowly, cautiously and very dexterously worked out. Shaikh Mubarak might assume the airs of a saint who had renounced the world and Abu-lFazl might talk monotonously about his intense desire to renounce the world, but they were quite mundane, worldly-wise, ~~perfect~~ ~~Dele Carnegie~~, who would humour and amuse the Emperor, study his every desire and talk and work accordingly. When Abu-lFazl came to the Court for the second time, he presented to the Emperor a book, an interpretation of a section of the Quran, ~~and it was~~ named "The Akbarian Commentary."² When the question of the number of wives a Muslim could legally have was in hot dispute, Shaikh Mubarak compiled a treatise citing all the authorities in favour of the Emperor and his worthy son brought it to the Court and placed it before the 'ulama' and the Emperor.³ Their motive was anyhow human and quite natural. They had

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 198.

2. " , p. 198.

3. " , p. 208.

sufferedⁱ at the hands of Makhdum-ulMulk and Abd-unNabi. They wished their downfall.

i. Shaikh Mubarak was a great scholar, well-versed in various branches of ~~the~~ Islamic ^{science}. He was much interested in Sufistic Theology. This led to his interest in the Mehdist philosophical speculations. On this ground Abd-unNabi and Makhdum-ulMulk condemned him as heretic. After having squeezed a reluctant consent from Akbar, they issued orders for his arrest. The old man was lucky to get information in time. When the 'Muhtasib' reached his house, he had, along with his sons, fled and concealed himself. With the messengers of death following them at every turn, in one guise or another, the helpless fugitives journeyed from place to place and had to hide indoors, whenever in a town. They begged the help of Salim Chishti in vain. Their miserable days prolonged. At last Mirza Aziz Koka came to their rescue. He talked to the Emperor on their behalf and they were saved. All the time the womenfolk and children remained at home with no man to attend to their needs and tortured by suspense and a lingering hope. The sorrowful story, with all its tragic details, Abu-lFazl tells us in Akbarnama. Even when Akbar having heard of the capabilities of Faizi as a poet, sent messengers, while besieging Chittor, to escort him to the Court, it was with tearful eyes that his mother bade him goodbye and Shaikh Mubarak "entrusted him to the protection of God". (Badaoni, ii, pp. 198-99. AulF, ii, p. 304).

When Abu-lFazl came into the Court, in 1575, and proved a striking debater, in the Ibadatkhana discussions, Akbar was much pleased, because he had become ~~very~~ fond of this intellectual entertainment. He would back the young debater against veteran 'ulama'.¹ By the year 1578 Abu-lFazl, with Shaikh Mubarak working behind the scene and ^{with} Akbar's 1575-78 moral support, had completely defeated and discredited Abd-unNabi, Makhdum-ulMulk and other 'ulama' on their own ground of ~~Islamic~~ *religious*.

The conduct of the 'ulama' themselves also contributed towards their downfall. When Akbar asked Qazi Jalal and others to write a commentary of the Quran, on every point they would differ and create noisy controversies.² The relations between Abd-unNabi and Makhdum-ulMulk became extremely strained. The 'ulama' were divided into two warring cliques. The tone of the debates degenerated. Leaving aside the Sunni and the Shia, the Hanfi and the Shafi, the jurist and the philosophical differences, the very fundamentals began to be attacked. They would declare each other heretical. One would try his best to slight the other. Personal animosities had entered intellectual discussions. Pamphleteering began. Makhdum wrote to show that Abd-unNabi's sentence against Khizar Khan Shirvani and Mir Habash was sheer injustice and that he was legally unfit to lead prayers. Abd-unNabi wrote an equally

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 198-199.

2. " , p. 211.

'tasteful' rejoinder.¹ Akbar was disgusted with both the parties.²

In compassing the downfall of Abd-unNabi and Makhdum-ul Mulk Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-lFazl went astray. To discredit individuals, they discredited the system for which they stood - the system in which the words of the Quran are taken as they stand, in which there is no reading between the lines. To bring down the crows in the branches, they struck at the root of the tree.

They had already been joined in their work by kindred spirits from Persia. In 1575, Hakim Abu-lFatah and his younger brother came from Gilan and entered Akbar's service. Soon their charming manners had won the Emperor's heart.³ Next year, Mir Sharif of Amal came to Malwa from the Deccan and was invited by Akbar to have a parley with him. The Emperor liked his philosophical talks so much that he was taken into the Court.⁴

In fighting against Abd-unNabi, Makhdum-ulMulk and other 'ulama', in addition to ordinary argumentation, interpretation and quotation,^{they} took another line : the line of the 'real meaning' behind the ordinary. Simple words of the Quran, understandable by every man in the streets of Mecca

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 255.
2. " , p. 259.
3. " , p. 211.
4. " , pp. 245-248.

تاویل - باطن .
الرار و باطن .

or Medina and every Beduin of the Arabian desert, were given far-fetched interpretations and named the 'real meanings'. The explanation of the Quranic injunctions in the mouth of Abu-lFazl or Shaikh Mubarak were thus just what they or Akbar wanted them to be. The 'ulama' were not prepared to debate on these lines. They ~~would~~^{ed} damn this process.

"Real meanings" or the "Secrets" explained. It was not something new. It was old poison in old bottles. The Hashamite movement against ~~the~~^{the} Omayyads just before its final stroke and success, turned out to be the Abbaside enterprise and they came into power. The Alides were set aside and soon ~~there~~^{they} began to organise a movement on the same lines and similarly under ground. But the same cause of upholding the religion for which they had fought in the first instance was not forthcoming, because it was being championed by the Abbasesides on the throne. It was to provide this missing central motivating lever that "the real meanings" or "the secrets" were invented to make out "the real religion" (to be championed) by the political adventurers like Obaid-ullah, the founder of the Ismaili or Fatamide rule in Tunisia and Egypt, Qaramat, another turbulent element in Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia, and Hasan bin Sabah, who organised the Batinyaⁱ and was able to carve out a kingdom for himself.

i. the Batniya - the followers of the 'Batin' i.e. the inside - the secrets - the real meanings.

چراغ صبا حیان نشر گردانیده آتش در جهان انداخته -

برایونی - ۲۶ - ۱۹۸۴

LIBERATOR
EXTRA STRONG

Abu-lFazl entered the Emperor's Court with "the candle of Sabahism on his hand and set the world on fire."¹

The Prophet was the spiritual as well as the corporal head of the Islamic polity. His successors were called the Khalifas or the Amir-ulMomeneens. They were political as well as religious heads of the State. They were simply deputies (khalifas) of the Prophet, deputed to carry on his work of governing according to the Quranic Law, having, of course, the final right to interpret the law, adopt one of the various interpretations/^{of a point} and deduce new laws. They claimed no supernatural powers, no revelation, no infallibility, no airs of prophethood. They were elected by the people and claimed no Divine Right of Kingship. Such were the first five Caliphs. (fifth Hasan, not Moawiya).

The Abbasides tried to ^{appear} ~~look~~ the same, though election became sham and "to be chosen by the people" was given semi-divinity.

The
"Imam"
?

The Abbaside Caliph was the living successor of the Prophet and the living religious and political head of the people. When the Alide movements were organised to subvert the Abbaside power, first of all his position as the successor of the Prophet and religious and political head of the Muslims was rejected; the real living successor of the Prophet and the real living spiritual and corporal leader

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 198.

امام موم

of the time was declared to be the head of the movement. He was called the 'Imam', just another name, meaning the same as 'the Caliph'. He was the living spiritual head. His followers' first duty was to work and fight to make him the political head as well. The political power in the hands of the Abbaside usurper was to be restored to the real successor of the Prophet.

But the arduous and subtle task of the Imam required him to become something more than a Caliph. The head of an underground revolutionary political movement had to fight with weapons fair and foul and required blind followers with the conviction that they were fighting for the Heavenly cause, under Heavenly guidance. The Imam, therefore, assumed supernatural powers, and the airs of prophethood. He was infallible. He received no revelations, but he claimed the knowledge of 'secrets'; secrets which were known to no other person, except 'the Imam of the age'. And these 'secrets' or 'the real meanings' were the new interpretations of the Quranic texts to serve every fair or foul purpose of the Imam. If the revelation was to give new knowledge, new laws and new moral values, these 'secrets' were equally potential and were used most unscrupulously. One can only wonder to find how a religion was being distorted and the religious ^{sentiment} ~~ness~~ of mankind being exploited to serve political ends.

The Abbaside Caliph at Baghdad was the religious as well

Division of the law and the executive. as political head of the Empire. But the governors ~~and~~ he ^{ed} ~~would~~ appoint in the provinces, inspite of enjoying ample judicial powers, were not also religious heads in their jurisdictions. There were Qazis in the provinces and they were incharge of law and justice and the rest of the religious affairs. When the provinces became independent, there and in other Kingdoms built by various rulers, who even adopted the title of Sultan or Amir, this division of law and the executive continued. Hence Sultans and Qazi-ulQuzats at Delhi and now against Akbar was installed his Sadar Shaikh Abd-unNabi.

Position
in
India.

Under the Sultans of Delhi, Babar or Humayun, the King was the political head of the state. He enjoyed absolute power; he was the executive head of the civil government and commander-in-chief of the forces. To declare war or to make peace was his domain. He enforced law in the country. But he himself was not the law-maker. The Islamic law in its fundamentals was already there and deductive and inductive corollaries ~~was~~ ^{were} the work of the Religious Head of the State. This religious head of the state, called Sadar under the Mughals, was appointed by the King himself. He used to be a well-versed scholar in various Islamic studies, particularly jurisprudence, and known for his piety. Once appointed to the post, he would become a rival power, against which the king himself became helpless sometimes, because he stood for Islam. Any infringement of his rulings was

considered the infringement of Islam and hence the infringement of the rights of all the Muslims: ~~xxx~~ commanders and soldiers, governors and administrators, officers and officials alike. His person was not important, but his office, and while in office kings had to respect him. He was thus the highest legal authority in the country. His ruling was final. But he was not only an authority on paper. He was actually the Head of the Judicial organisation of the realm. All the judges or Qazis in the country were under him. Moreover, he was in charge of all the endowment lands and stipends, primarily meant for educational purposes, throughout the empire. These lands were rent-free and he could distribute them at his free will. Such was this dual-system. But the mutual tug-of-war did not exist as long as the king did not wish to enforce some ~~unislamic~~ ^{contrary to Islam} law. Due to the religious authority and the unbounded patronage in his hands, the Sadar enjoyed vast powers.ⁱ

Shaikh Abd-unNabi's powers were absolute. Even Akbar was afraid of interfering with him. Those who suffered at his hands, therefore, ~~they~~ suffered because of his powers. But originally they belonged to the political ruler. If

-
- i. To complete the outline of the organisation of the Muslim State in India before Akbar, I may add that the government of the state, civil and military was exclusively in Muslim hands, except the non-muslims employed in the lower ranks of the revenue department. Non-muslims had to pay one extra tax, Jizia, in return for which they were exempt from military service and free from religious persecution. They were not free in one respect. Blasphemy against the Prophet of Islam, his Companions or his relatives was punishable with death.

Shaikh
Mubarak's
plan.

Akbar would re-assume them, the downfall of the Sadar, Shaikh Abd-unNabi, Makhdum-ulMulk and the rest of the 'ulama' was complete. That was what Shaikh Mubarak wished in his heart of hearts. He wished ^{but} (had not yet suggested openly) Akbar to declare himself "the Imam of the age".¹

For cursing or reviling publicly anyone of the first three Caliphs, the Prophet's wives or his Companions, punishment for a Shia from the Court of Abd-unNabi was death straightway. If Akbar stripped him of his powers, they would also be free. Hence they had joined hands with Shaikh Mabarak and Abu-lFazl. Hakim Abu-lFatah, Hakim Hamam, Sharif Anli, Khan Jahan, who scandalized Makhdum, were all Shias.

Mehdi, a child of four or five, a descendant of Ali, one day went out and never returned. Obaid-ullah, who claimed to be the Imam of the time in Tunisia, told the people that he was Mehdi, who had come to lead them. Later the legend of the appearance of Imam Mehdi to renovate the Muslim world grew up. The Mehdist movement in India under the Surs was different from such movements in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Iraq or Persia. But the background was the same. Ismaili propaganda in Sind, Multan, Gujrat was once briskly carried out. Before Mahmud of Ghazna came to India, Ismailis had already carved out the Kingdom of Multan for themselves. Shaikh Mubarak might not have ^{been} a Mehdist,

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 272.

but his son's mode of discussion in the Ibadatkhana and his scheme for Akbar's Imamatus were Mehdist i.e. practically Ismaili. The spiritual lord with huge miraculous powers and supernatural abounding knowledge that Abu-lFazl makes out of Akbar is undoubtedly on the pattern of an Ismaili Imam. Every page of Akbarnama bears testimony to this. The 'ulama' the nobles and the rest all are dubbed "the worshippers of the outward form." Only Akbar is "the Lord of Meanings" and Abu-lFazl and ^{others like him} ~~the~~ the junta of the initiates (actual manufacturers of 'the real meanings' which Akbar had simply accepted). Shaikh Abd-unNabi, Makhdum-ulMu and the rest of the 'ulama' who unanimously condemned Shaikh Mubarak as 'the Mehdist', "the misled and the misleading"¹ were not very far from ^{the} truth. The fact is that Shaikh Mubarak knew the world of Muslim ideas and was prepared to 1575-78 use any weapon ready to his hand.

Akbar's own religious life and mental working had also been heading towards religious leadership. If someone leads a religious life, people around tend to respect him. If he is a rich man or some high official, this respect tends to be increased tenfold. If he becomes lowly with the lowly, they begin to revere him. But if a great king happened to be so, his subjects, especially in an age when

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 198-199.

religion's hold upon human mind was virtually complete, could not help tendering him their intense reverence. Akbar's religious life, his long hours of worship, his public marches from Agra to Ajmer, from Ajmer to Delhi, through Rajputana to Pakpatan, down from Lahore to Ajmer to proffer his supplications at the tombs of saints and his walks on foot in honour of the saint whenever approaching Ajmer, had captured the public imagination. At the tombs he would sit down with the people, without distinction of rich or poor, sometimes even on a platform of bricks. Akbar was not affecting religiosity. He was sincere. It was natural with him. His court musicians would sing devotional music. Books of similar contents were read
1574 out to him by his official reader. While he listened to them, his heart would melt and tears would rush into his eyes.¹

Akbar's
belief
that
he had
super-
natural
powers.

The people loved him, revered him, they had begun to look upon him as a great saint. They would attribute supernatural powers to the Emperor. These suggestions leading to auto-suggestions had their share in moulding the **mental** make up of the Emperor. He began to think himself not only favoured with the Special favours of God, but also invested with supernatural powers. Soon belief in his supernatural powers had become general as is shown by the following instances.

1. AulF, iii, p. 89. Badaoni, ii, pp. 228-29.

Muzzaffar Khan was fighting against Afghans, in Bihar, 1575 in 1575. He was encamped beside a stream. With a small party he went out to examine the water and find out some suitable point for fording the river. About two hundred Afghans appeared on the opposite bank. Muzzaffar ordered his men to cross the stream and fight them. Soon he himself followed them. The enemy fled, but the Afghan reinforcement reached them and they returned to give battle. The Imperialists were completely defeated, and were fleeing towards hills, with Afghans in hot pursuit at their heels, till dusk deepened and gave them respite till next morning. A man had been sent to hasten this way the main army on the other side of the river. But Muzzaffar was utterly hopeless of their rescue. One of his men was Shaikh Jamal. He fell down on the ground where the action took place and became unconscious. After some time he regained his senses, rose up, and on reaching Muzzaffar broached to him the happy prophecy of their victory over Afghans. He said, "While I was lying unconscious I saw our Emperor fighting on the battlefield and the enemy being annihilated". Shortly ^{afterwards} the main army ^{arrived} ~~reached~~ and ^{to} Afghans were defeated.¹

1. AulF, iii, pp. 137-39.

Mehtar Saadat Peshro Khan, another official, tells his story like this: "Raja Gajpati rebelled in Bihar. I fell a prisoner in his hands. Shahbāz Khan was sent against him. On the night Gajpati attacked ^{the} Imperialists, about seventy prisoners were ordered to be beheaded. Everyone was entrusted to a soldier for the job. My executioner took me to a place among the trees in the wood. I sat down and in my last moments was thinking of my God and seeking His grace in the name of my saint Emperor. But the sword did not descend upon my neck. After some time when I opened my eyes and looked up, my executioner approached me, full of awe and respect. He told me that he had tried his best to behead me, but his arm would not obey. Gujpati appointed another man to do the same. I again turned to my God, thinking of my Emperor. This sturdy man also could not discharge his duty. Gujpati was much annoyed. The night attack had not proved a success and he was fleeing before Shahbāz's soldiers. He ordered my executioner to take me with him on his elephant. The elephant on which we rode proved a vicious beast. The man in charge of me fell on the ground to escape its fury. The elephant was frightened and grunting aloud began to flee. Hearing its fearsome uproar, all of the elephants ran off in different directions. Our elephant was running ^{swiftly} like wind. Shortly we found ourselves in the midst of a plain. I

was in the 'howdah' behind the 'filban'. Both of my hands were tied at the wrists. I put them round the neck of the 'filban'. He considered I was holding him for support. Slowly but firmly I began to strangle him. As long as he was there I could not hope for my freedom. Soon the fact dawned upon the victim. He begged and entreated me to let him go and fell down himself.

The elephant continued running away till the day broke. When it stayed, I fell down myself and reaching the ground became unconscious. When I awoke, it was midday. I sighted a soldier. Thank God, he proved a friend. Suddenly, drums were beaten in the jungle - the Imperial drums - to give direction to the lost. We headed towards the noise.¹

For Mehtar Saadat it was the supernatural
~~Due to the supernatural powers of the Emperor, Mehtar~~
~~power of the Emperor that had saved him from death~~
~~Saadat had escaped death, because he invoked the Emperor~~
~~in the hour of need.~~

The belief in Akbar's invincibility and supernatural powers had become so firm and wide spread that it would lead others to prophesy about his power.

1578 When Shahbāz Khan captured Udhepur in 1578, a man had been put to death by the Rajput commander of the fort. He was a Muslim hermit who had been living within the walls

1. AulF, iii, pp. 186-88.

of the city fort for a long time and the people around used to seek his blessings. Three days before the surrender of the fort, early in the morning he came to the Rana's temple and standing aloft cried out the 'Azan'. The commandant of the fort was nonplussed. He enquired into his behaviour. The 'dervesh' replied, "Last night I have foreseen the conquest of this fort by the armies of King Akbar." The commandant was infuriated and sentenced him to death. When this story reached Akbar, he thanked God for "this special favour of His",¹ because the saints of the age were foretelling his achievements.

1579 In 1579 Sultan Khawja returned from the Mecca pilgrimage and relating ^{the story of} "the spiritual helps" of the Emperor throughout his voyage "adorned the ears and hearts" of the people. On the outward voyage, one night, a child fell down into the sea. The ship was speedily going ahead, but the crying of the child was approaching nearer and nearer. The Khawja sent a rescuing party "in the name of the Emperor". The seamen considered it a vain toil. But at midnight they returned - with the child recovered alive! Everyone was convinced of the spiritual powers of Akbar, the Saint Royal.²

When others were suggesting such powers to him, Akbar also began to assume supernatural airs, foretelling the

1. AulF, iii, p. 239.

2. " , p. 263.

future, healing the sick and even trying to interfere with the natural elements. When he sent Sayyad Abd-ullah Khan, in 1576, towards Bengal to convey to the generals fighting there, the news of the Rana's defeat, he added, "As you go with the happy tidings of the victory in Mewar, you shall return with the good news of the conquest of Bengal".¹ On his pilgrimage to Ajmer, in 1577, when an eye of Fateh Khan Cheetahbān was ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~paining~~ terribly, Akbar repeated some sacred text and blew upon the eye.² In 1578, rains were falling heavily. The people and the armies in distress petitioned their saint Emperor. Akbar blew upon a mirror and placed it in the fire to stop the rain.³

Such was Akbar whom people had already accepted as a Saint, their 'Pir-o-Murshid', their Spiritual Master and who himself had begun to believe in his own supernatural powers, whom Shaikh Mubarak wished to declare as their Jurist Head as well and become 'the Imam of the Age'.

Akbar himself was tired of Abd-unNabi and Makhdum. Besides their religious pretensions and disgraceful mutual wrangles, in the administration of the Sadarat, of the Empire in the former's case and that of the Panjab in the latter's, they had proved inefficient and unreliable.⁴

1. AulF, iii, p. 176.

2. " , p. 212.

3. " , p. 239.

4. Badaoni, ii, pp. 204-206,
203-204

He desired to put an end to the rival jurisdiction of the Sadar,¹ to this State within the State. But there was one difficulty. He could not read or write efficiently. And among the events of 1578, we find, in Badaoni, a ~~waxx~~ significant line: "Akbar began to take lessons in the elements of grammar from Shaikh Mubarak".²

1579 However the first step towards the 'Imamat of the age' was taken next year. Instead of the Imam¹ of the Cathedral mosque of the Capital, Akbar decided to deliver the Friday sermon himself. The 'Khutba' or the sermon to be delivered orally must have been the work of the Royal tutor. The opening verses were composed by his poet son Faizi.³

The plan in practice.

But the maiden speech of even some of the most famous public speakers has not been a success. As soon as Akbar mounted the pulpit, he grew nervous and began to tremble. It was with difficulty that he could repeat the opening verses and, descending from the pulpit, entrusted the 'imamat' to Hafiz Mohammad Amin Khatib.⁴

If Akbar had fared better in his first speech, it is likely that the later trend of his religious thought might have been different. The atmosphere of the mosque ~~xxx~~

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 268.

2. " , p. 265.

3. AulF, iii, pp. 270-71.

NuD Ahmad, ii, pp. 343-44.

Badaoni, ii, p. 268.

4. Badaoni, ii, p. 268.

i. Imam-priest in a mosque.

and the responsibilities of the pulpit must have exercised their influence. It proved one of the most unfortunate failures of a maiden speech. Akbar never tried it again. The Emperor of Hindustan was not to cut a sorry figure amidst his subjects again. In a field where we fail we do not usually like our superiors. We befriend our inferiors in one way or the other, especially in some particular whim. Akbar could not like the eloquent speakers on the pulpit henceforth. He could not talk like a jurist scholar. He could talk like a mystic. Hence his aversion from the former and love of the latter.

Opposition to Abd-unNabi's powers and jurisdiction had been accumulating. Some of the provinces had already been put under Provincial Sadars,¹ directly under the Emperor. His own conduct and the interests of others had all contributed towards the same end. His power and his prestige both had suffered. The case of the Brahman of Mathra proved the last straw. His downfall came^{and} with him fell for ever the rival power of the Religious Head of the state.

Abd-urRahim, Qazi of Mathra, filed a case against a rich Brahman of that place, in the court of Shaikh Abd-unNabi, the Sadar-usSadur. The Qazi had collected building material to construct a mosque. The Brahman took it away and, when

1. AulF, iii, p. 234.

demanded, refused to give^{it back} and in addition insulted the Muslims and reviled the Prophet. Abd-unNabi summoned him. He disobeyed.

Akbar sent Abu-lFazl and Birbar to bring him to the court. They brought him to the court and Abu-lFazl related what he had heard from the people at Mathra. In conclusion he said, ^{that} the blaspheming of the Prophet by him 'was proven'.

The jurists divided on the point of his punishment. According to some he was to be put to death. According to others he was to be flogged and disgraced in public. Abd-unNabi was for the death sentence. The Brahman was in prison.

Meanwhile the Rajput Queens, being approached or of their own accord, interceded on behalf of the Brahman and begged the Emperor for his life. Akbar was won over.

But Abd-unNabi wished to behead the Brahman. The Prophet reviled. The authority of the Sadar flouted. And everyone of the Hindu Courtiers and all of his opponents trying to save the Brahman. He issued the death-warrant and the Brahman was beheaded!

Akbar heard of it, and was infuriated. The Rajput Queens within and Hindu courtiers without were remarking, "You patronize these Mullas and they don't care for you. To show their authority, they put people to death without



“چرا ما را از قیمت این تدا بیان ضد مغنی سازی ؟”

asking your permission". They plied their remarks till the situation became intolerable.

1579. Akbar placed the case before the jurists in the Ibadatkhanas. They had come to know the king's wishes. All of them condemned Abd-un Nabi.

The Emperor's anger was not satiated. Abd-un Nabi ceased to attend the court. At this time Shaikh Mubarak came to see the Emperor. Akbar referred the case of the Brahman to him. He said:

"You are yourself the Imam of the Age. In the promulgation of the religious and political regulations what need have you to refer to these people ? They have no knowledge but only unfounded fame for knowledge."

The Emperor replied:

"My dear teacher ! Then why don't you set me free from the meshes of these mullas ?"

The Shaikh said:

"Claim the position of the highest Mujtahidⁱ

i. Mujtahid = the final legal authority.

او (شیخ مبارک) کر عبد و اجتهاد بر میان "عقد و عناد" بیک گفت. "دعوی اقبال و فرانسید از ایشان

مخفی بلبلید." سیرا کوئی - جلد ۳ - ۸۳۴



and ask them to sign a document to confirm it."

Shaikh Mubarak himself drafted this document. His dream, cherished so long, was near to materialize. Akbar was going to become the Imam. Abd-unNabi would be reduced to dust. The hour of vengeance had come.¹

The document read:-

Whereas Hindustan has become the home of security and peace, justice and beneficence, and a large number of people, especially 'ulama' and 'fuzala', (of various religious views) from all the countries of Arab and Ajam have immigrated and adopted this land,

We, the principal 'ulama', who are well acquainted with law and jurisprudence and are known for our piety and honesty, have duly considered the meaning of the Quranic injunction,

"Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey those who have authority among you"
and the Ahadis,

"Surely the man who is dearest to God, on the Day of Judgement, is the Imam-eAdil (the just ruler)" and

and "Whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys the Prophet, whosoever rebels against the Amir, rebels against the Prophet."
and weighed other considerations, give the ruling

1. Badaoni, Muntakhab-utTawarikh,
vol. iii, pp. 80-83.

that the position of the Sultan-eⁱAdil (as a legal authority) is higher than that of a 'mujtahid' (legal expert, the most prominent of the ulama).

and declare that the Sultan-ulIslam, the Amir-ulMomeneen, Abu-lFatah Jalal-udDin Mohammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi, is a just (Adil), wise and learned ruler.

Hence, if there are more than one interpretations of a religious point in future and the Emperor adopts one of them for the political well-being or the good of the people, and issues a decree to standardise it, such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

And should the Emperor issue some new order that does not conflict with some Quranic injunction and is for the welfare of the people, it shall be binding on everyone; its opposition shall lead to loss in this world and damnation in the next.

This document has been written with honest intentions, in the name of God and for the propagation of the injunctions of Islam and is signed by us, the principal 'ulama' and the 'fuqaha'ⁱⁱ, in the month of Rajab, in the year 987 A.H.¹

1. Badaoni, ii, 271-72.

2. NuD Ahmad ii, pp. 345-46.

AulF, iii, pp. 269-70.

i. Sultan-eAdil - the just ruler.

ii. fuqaha - the legal experts well-versed in Islamic jurisprudence.

در شش مبارک بلوغ مد ذیل آن نوشت که این امر است که من بیان وطن فواید و از سایر ارباب منتظر آن بیدم :-

بدینوسیله - ۲۲ - ۲۴۲۳ -



Abd-unNabi and Makhdum-ulMulk were called in and they
1579 had to sign the death-warrant of their authority with their
own hands. It was also signed by many other ~~big~~ 'ulama'
like Qazi Jalal-udDin Multani, Sadar Jahan Mufti, Ghazi
Khan Badakhshi and ^{others,} all in king's pay, and Shaikh Mubarak.
With what a gleeful heart he would have signed it!¹

The stray remarks and sullen resentfulness of
religious dignitaries, who commanded vast respect, like
Abd-unNabi and Makhdum-ulMulk, especially in a public
place like a mosque, were dangerous.² Soon Akbar exiled
them to Mecca. Shaikh Mubarak's triumph was complete.

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 270, 272.
NuD Ahmad, ii, pp. 344-45.
AulF, iii, p. 270.

2. Azad, Darbar-eAkbari, pp. 311, 316, 324.

III

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AND THE INSURRECTION OF 1579 - 1581.

Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-lFazl desired Akbar to become political as well as religious head of the State. Thereby they expected the ruin of their old enemies and free-thinkers, ^{and they} themselves and others like them, to become safe from persecution.

In Islamic polity the head of the State is also the religious head. Their plan was not, therefore, something alien to Islam. But they could not declare him Caliph in public. The Caliphate had been handed over by the last Abbaside Caliph of Cairo to the Ottoman Sultan Salim or his successor Sultan Solemān, the Magnificent and the Sunni world had accepted him as such.¹ And most of Akbar's nobles - Turkish, Mongol, Indian - , the dominant percentage of his muslim armies - mostly manned from Central Asia - and the majority of his Indian muslim Subjects were all Sunnis. Neither was there any question of Akbar's

1. When Akbar canvassed Qutb-udDin Khan Atka about the Neo-Islam, he remarked, "What will the Sultan of Rum (the Ottoman Caliph) and other kings say, when they hear about these things? Whether formal or real they all confess the same Islam." (Badaoni, ii, p.274)

رہتی خدیو امام وقت و مجتہد ائمہ گارانت۔

اکبر نامہ - ۲۳-۲۴۰۴

حضرت سلطان الدائم کبیر الدائم امیر المومنین علی بن ابی طالب علیہ السلام جلیل الدین محمد اکبر پادشہ غازی خلد اللہ تکم ابدا۔

بدلتی - ۲۳-۲۴۱۴

authority deriving from the Ottoman Caliph. Sultan Bayazid was defeated and imprisoned by Amir Temur. The Mughals would always look down upon the Ottomans.

The only alternative left to Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-lFazl, therefore, was to give him the title of "Imam". For the Sunnis it could have the meaning of just a head of a state, without any reference to the Caliphate. They themselves were making him out ^{to be} "the Imam of the time"¹ on Ismaili lines, the Caliph, more than a Caliph, "the lord of mysteries".

The document conferring the highest legal authority upon Akbar was very cunningly drafted by Shaikh Mubarak. The word Caliph is omitted. The word Imam is used, giving also the meaning of just a head of a state. And when the title Amir-ulMomeneen, an epithet of the Caliph, is used, it occurs after two other titles given to Akbar and thus is somewhat concealed, though ^{it} still stands there. The first title given to Akbar is that of a 'Sultan' which was quite ordinary. The careful brief wording is placed in such a way that no objection could be made by the 'ulama'. On paper not much is claimed for Akbar. But in practice it meant absolute religious power.

1. AulF, iii, p. 270.



شبهات باطل از کتب برآمده، پادشاهی که جوهر نفیس و طالب حق بود در شک انداخته، حیرت بر صورت افزود.
و قصود از میان رفت.

برائتی - ۲۶ - ۲۵۵۲

And if Akbar was illiterate and unable to interpret the Quranic law, Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-lFazl were there to do it for him - the power behind the throne. The desire for vengeance, the love of influence, power, fame and name, had all been working slowly though quite efficiently. ~~But the weapons used in the warfare had spared nothing for the victors.~~

1575-79 Abu-lFazl himself and later along with others of the same stock, in the Ibadatkhana discussions, ~~would~~ philosophised and rationalised every Islamic belief to show that their opponents were leading nowhere. What is Revelation? What is Prophethood? What are Miracles? What is Prayer? Why Fast? Such were the topics raised and Akbar was at loss to understand them. He was not one of the bookish scholars like Abu-lFazl and others for whom such questions and their ready made answers existed for the sake of discussion only without reference to their inner life. Akbar was not a pedant. He was practical, whether on the battlefields or in the domain of ideas. He would continue to worry over these problems while the learned scholars, after their return home, were enjoying themselves. "Doubts grew in his mind, and began to torment him".¹ Coiled in the meshes of his own doubts, ~~A perpetual torture. Agony on the throne.~~ "The pure soul

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 255.

searched after 'the Truth'."¹

In fact Abu-lFazl and Shaikh Mubarak proved his worst enemies. His beliefs, his convictions, ^{were} shaken to the foundation. He was adrift. He doubted Revelation, doubted Prophethood, doubted Miracles, doubted Prayer, doubted the value of Fasting.² He would not play the Imam in the way Mubarak and Abu-lFazl expected him to do. They would have liked him to become the High Priest in the pulpit.

But it was their own fault. They had applied the method of making a novice to the making of the Imam. An Ismaili 'dai' or missionary used to approach a would-be victim and create similar doubts in his mind and then he ~~would be~~ told that only the Imam of the age knew those mysteries. And after his conversion it was intimated that he could be initiated into them only by stages. The poor fellow would wait and serve and die. But who was going to remove Akbar's doubts and initiate him into mysteries? He was not a common man to stand and serve. He was the Emperor of Hindustan. He wanted to hear whatever they had to say there and then. Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-lFazl had nothing firm to give him. He turned to others.

Akbar did not know 'the Truth'. He would not claim that he did. Because he had no motive to do that. The

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 255.

2. " , pp. 211, 257, 273.

Imam claimed to know 'the real meaning behind the words', 'mysteries behind the outward forms' because he had to hoodwink thousands of simple souls to form his legions to fight and assassinate and die, serving his political ambitions. Akbar stood in need of no militant blind followers. His Empire had already been built by the honest strength of his own arms and the exertions of his generals, Hindus and Muslims, Sunnis and Shias, who had served him as their King as diligently as any could do a 'Master of the truth'.

An Imam was to be 'all-knowing', 'king of word and meaning', 'initiated to the Truth'. But Akbar would turn to others to learn the truth - to Hindus, Parsis, Mushaikh, Rishis,ⁱ Faqirs, even to sundry obscure old men. He did not become the Imam after the heart of Shaikh Mubarak and Abu-lFazl, though they went on painting him in the desired colours with such poor apologies: the Lord of the truth knows everything, but he does not know that he knows everything; he tries to learn from others, because he wants to honour them; he is the 'master of meaning', but the blind form-worshippers cannot see him. Such was the only way for them to justify the Emperor's beliefs and practices henceforth.

i. Mushaikh - Muslim saints.
Rishis - Hindu saints.

Akbar had married Rajput princesses. He had been in close contact with Hindus. Previously he had interested himself in their religion to satisfy his curiosity. Now 1579 he turned to them in search of 'the truth'. Devi Brahman explained to the Emperor the mysteries of the Hindu religion. He talked of the sacred themes like the worship of sun and fire; Brahma, Mahadev and Vishnu; Krishna and Ram; and Durga Maha Mai. He explained the 'Karma' and 'the Punarjanam' - the reward and punishment of man's deeds through the transmigration of the soul.¹ A man is poor, sick, blind, crippled or unhappy or otherwise, because he was sinful in his previous life. Another is rich, healthy, handsome, sound of limb and sight and happy because he was virtuous in his previous life. A very simple explanation of the mysteries and injustices of life which the Aryan mind, Hindu or Greek, had invented very early. ^{It was} a superb consolation, ^{and} ~~It was still tempting.~~ Akbar began to believe in it. He was at a loss to understand the eternity of the soul after the ^{death} ~~demise~~ of the body and its reward and punishment except by means of the transmigration.²

The Parsi priest, Dastur Meharji Rana from Vesari, 1579 (or Nusari), in Gujrat, was invited to the court to explain Zoroastrian mysteries to the Emperor.³ Outward symbols

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 257-58.

2. " , p. 273.

3. " , p. 261.

were said to have spiritual effects. Akbar was not averse to trying them. He put on the sacred shirt and bound round his waist the sacred girdle.¹ Due respect was shown to fire - the Light of God. The Emperor ordered a perpetual fire in the Royal Palace.²

Some of the Muslim theologians of one or the other denomination were not behind others in their forwardness and in feeding the whims of the Emperor. Shaikh Taj-udDin 1579 of Delhi came to the court and explained the riddle of 'God and the Universe' on the lines: 'Everything is of God. God is in everything'. The ulama ^{took} ~~would take~~ it as tantamount to atheistic purport. He discussed that even the Pharoah had faith in God and that the atheists would go to hell, but not for ever.¹ Many other similar things were said and farfetched interpretations of the Quranic texts and Ahadis were put forward to support them.³

~~Change is the spice of life. Akbar had come to like things of different taste. And here they were.~~

But more important to him was his thesis that 'the Perfect Man' or 'the Spiritual Lord of the age' was His Majesty, therefore, because of the honour due to him,

1. Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 163.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 261.

3. " , pp. 258-59.

4. " , p. 259.

i. the Murjite doctrines.

which was said to be the religious duty of every faithful, obeisance before the Emperor was permissible. To this end, he proposed 'the ground kissing mode of respect.'¹ In its performance one had to bow or do 'sijdah' to the Emperor. And the 'Sijdah' of a Muslim is due to none but God.

Another philosophical point was made by Shaikh Yaqub 1579 Kashmiri. He was actually quoting Hamdani. He said, "The Prophet was the Guide and Satan the Tempter. Prophethood and Satanhood both play a part in life."² (In the present age, Your Majesty represents the former. -by implication).³

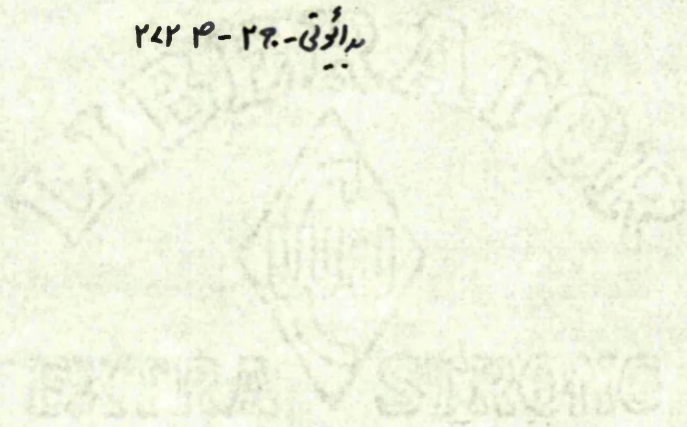
When the Emperor himself began to assume airs of the 1579 prophethood, writers in the Court would omit the customary respects paid to the Prophet of Islam in introducing their books. After the praise of God, they would begin the panegyric of the Emperor. Muslims throughout detested it.³

The ~~biggest~~ ^{most important} religious dignitary and ~~in~~ ^a power for many years, who commanded great respect in public, was Abd-unNabi. His and Makhdum's influence ~~was~~ ^{remained} quite a deterrent. They were sure to object and interfere, and their voice carried weight with Muslims. At the most Makhdum was a lover of wealth. With Abd-unNabi even Badaoni has not been able

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 259.
2. " , p. 259.
3. " , pp. 269, 366.

اسم التقييد ناسية.

بدونى - ٢٦ - ٢٤٢ ٣



to find fault except that he became arrogant. They suffered for their convictions. They would break rather than bend, a characteristic of theirs which demands respect, which has not been paid to them so far. Akbar was afraid of them. But when they had been despatched to Mecca, he could feel at liberty to discuss and to do whatever he liked. Moreover, after the confirmation of 'the Document', he had also become the final authority in the interpretation of the Quran. Neither past authorities nor the present were to be referred to.¹

The Islamic beliefs and practices, as the people knew them, Akbar began to deem 'unreal', as mimicing others.

1579 The 'Nimaz', the Islamic mode of worship, therefore, was discarded.²

At the time of his visit (the last of the series) to 1579 Ajmer, in this year, 1579, the Emperor examined the beliefs of the people, who had gathered there to pay their homage to the Saint's tomb, especially regarding the Quran, the Revelation, the Prophethood.

He would not believe in angels, genii and miracles, the continuity of the Quran and its being the Speech of God. The Quran was said to be the creaction of God.¹ The Emperor, well-trained in the Ismaili ~~practices~~ ^{studies} by Shaikh Mubarak,

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 272-73, 301.

2. " , p. 275.

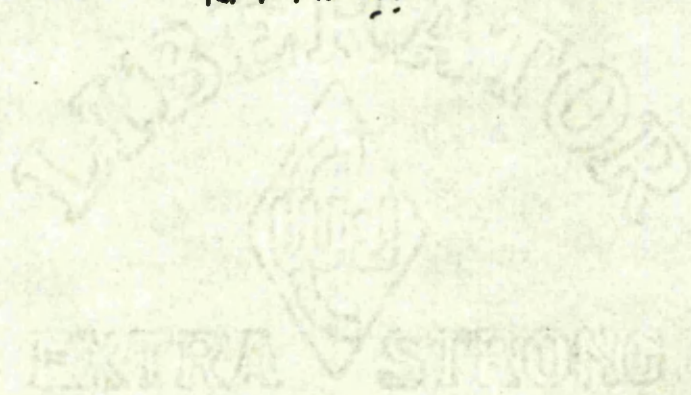
i. the Motazilite doctrines.

از حقیقت بہت کورس چند - مصحف ماند و کتبہ گورس چند
گورباکر سنن غنی گوید - "بستر قرآن" کے غنی جوید

برائون - ۲۲ - ۴ - ۲۴۳

لہام اللہ البرخلیغۃ اللہ -

برائون - ۲۲ - ۴ - ۲۴۳



Abu-lFazl and Sheites from Persia, would exclaim in derision:

"Regarding 'the Truth', in the hands of the blind, there is nothing but a few old graves."

"The graves do not speak. No one seeks 'the secrets of the Quran'."¹

~~In other words~~ Whatever he himself had begun to believe formed 'the secrets of the Quran'.

More than once Muslim religious scholars had declared him 'the Spiritual Leader of the age', 'the Deputy or the Khalifa of God of his time'. Akbar also liked ^{these} ~~the~~ words to be repeated: "There is no god but God, and Akbar is the Deputy of God." The 'Kalena', or the Muslim Confession of Faith, runs, "There is no god but God, and Mohammad is the Prophet of God". Moreover, the words, 'Deputy of God', especially when placed as above, gives the meaning of 'a prophet'. Hence it could not be repeated openly and was limited to only a few persons within the palace.²

~~Beliefs were touched, but pockets had not been touched~~
~~so far. They were touched this year.~~ ^{In this year their income also was affected.} Abd-unNabi had been very liberal in granting rent free lands to them. ~~priestly classes.~~ Akbar had appointed Qazi Ali Baghdadi,

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 273.

2. " , p. 273.

the year before, to look into these grants and reduce them in undeserving cases. This year he presented the holders of 1000 to 100 bighas before the Emperor, who reduced them in most cases. This created much resentment among the priestly classes,¹ who were in possession of the pulpit - the only public platform of the time.

Akbar was a ruler of Muslims, at times somewhat dangerous subjects. They are enjoined to obey their ruler even if he is a nose-cut negro, but on one condition, that he rules according to the Law. Otherwise they are equally enjoined to rise in revolt against the government. And Islamic Law is not the monopoly of any Parliament, Privy Council or Chief Justice. Every Muslim is free to study and pass any ruling. It is not the man who speaks that matters. It is the purport of what he says that matters. Free election of the Caliph did not last long. But the Islamic democratic spirit of the individual bridled the Muslim Caesars for centuries. Whomsoever claimed to be their leader, religious or political, Muslims demanded ^{that} his life and conduct ^{be} regulated on Islamic ideals. This incessant daring criticism of rulers, leaders and reformers, though sometimes unreasonable, reactionary, destructive or foolish, is an astonishing fact in Muslim history. It testifies to the vigour of a living people.

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 274, 276.

Rebellion
in
Bihar.

1579

In 1579, Mulla Mohammad Yazdi, Qazi of Jonepur, with that 'Red Book of Revolution', the Quran, in hand, enjoined the people to rise in revolt against such a heretic ruler as Akbar. And the nobles of Bihar like Mohammad Masumi Kabli, Arb Bahadur, Said Beg Bakhshi, Mir Moazz-ulMulk, Samanji Khan, Niyabat Khan, Saadat Ali, Haji Kolabi, Said Badakhshi, Bahadur Badakhshi, Darvesh Ali Sanjar and others actually did so.

They had been much molested by the Imperial officers in Bihar, like Mulla Tayyab and Rai Parkhotam Bakhshi, regarding the arrears and the branding of the horses. But it was the Emperor's religious innovations and Mulla Mohammad Yazdi's 'fatwa' against the Emperor that gave point to the insurrection.¹

1580

Akbar was, anyhow, still pre-occupied. Birbar explained to him the mysteries of sun-worship. It was the sun that was responsible for ripening cereals and fruit and the existence of verdure and light and life. It was worthy of all respect. One should, therefore, turn one's face, while praying, towards the direction from which it rises (the East) rather than towards that which it sets (the West - the Kaba direction).²

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 276, 281.

2. AulF, iii, p. 284, 285.

NuDAhmad, ii, p. 349, 350.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 260.

Similarly he deified fire and water and certain trees and stones and sanctified the cow and even its dunghill and Tilak (the sacred Hindu mark on the forehead) and Jenu (the sacred thread round the waist and shoulder of a Hindu).¹

It contributed to the sanctification of the Solar New Year Day. The Emperor began to wear clothes of different colours: each day the colour of the planet ruling that day. He began to repeat the 'Gateri' or the sun-prayer at midnight and daybreak. He began to ~~like~~ ^{desire} ~~an end to~~ ^{ending} the cow slaughter.²

1580 On the New Year day this year, the Emperor publicly bowed before the Sun and did the same before the fire. When the lights were lit in the evening, the courtiers ~~would stand~~ ^{stood} in respect. On the festival of the 8th day after the sun's entry into Virgo, he came into the court with 'tilak' on his forehead and the Brahmins, with all ceremonies, tied 'Rakhi' on his wrist.³

Such were the influences on him of Brahmins and Parsis.

1580 But some of the Muslims, especially Shias, were also not inactive. These prophet-makers were doing their utmost. They were emphatic in their declarations that His Majesty was undoubtedly 'the Lord of the age', expected

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 260.

2. " , pp. 260-61.

3. " , pp. 261-62.

حالا صاحب زمانه که را فتح عتد و اقتدار و دولت از مسلم و هند و باشد، حضرت اند -

به یونی - ۲۲-۲۸۷

بردارنده باطل

به یونی - ۲۲-۲۸۷

در نصد و هشتاد و نه از حکم قضا - آینه کواکب از جوانب یلجا -

در سال اسد ماه اسد روز اسد - از پرده نردن فرامه آن شیر خرا -

به یونی - ۲۲-۲۸۷

for centuries to appear and put an end to all the seventy-two religions of Muslims and Hindus. Sharif Anli brought forward the testimony of Mahmud Basakhwani for his treatise, in which the latter had foretold the appearance of 'the Terminator of the False' in the year, 990 A.H. Khawja Molana Shirazi Jafardan brought, from Mecca, ^a treatise, by several of the Shaikhs of that place, in which was propounded the same thesis. They said that the age of the world, 7000 years, was approaching its end and it was, therefore, the time for the appearance of the expected Mehdi. He himself also wrote a treatise on the topic and presented it to the Emperor. Similarly other shias quoted from Ali to the same effect. Some of them brought forward, to support their thesis, the following quatrain, said to be of Nasir Khusro, the wellknown 'Ismaili dai'¹:

"In Nineteen eighty nine, by the decree of the Heavenly will, the stars will form such an array that"
 "In the year of Leo, in the month of Leo, on the day of Leo, the Lion of God will come forth from behind the veil."¹

And those who opposed these prophet-makers were not safe from the Royal rage. Hakim-ulMulk dared to oppose them. He ~~called~~ ^{described} Abu-lFazl (the Father of learning) as Fuzla (the rubbish). Akbar exiled him to Mecca.²

1580

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 287.

2. " , pp. 275, 285.

NuDAhmad, ii, p. 354.

AulF, iii, p. 317.

i. 'dai' - the missionary.

The same year, the first Jesuit mission from Goa arrived in the Court, and the Christian Fathers explained the riddle of the Holy Trinity. Prince Murad was entrusted to one of them to take lessons in the Bible and Abu-lFazl was ordered to render it into Persian. Akbar showed due respect to the Bible, but also to the paintings of the Virgin and Christ. The latter was like image-worship, so strictly denounced in Islam.¹ But to crown all, the Christian Saints proved the most foul-mouthed. They would talk of the "hideous and heinous infernal monster Mohmet"² and prove him to be the Anti-Christ.³

Akbar had tried the patience of the Muslim 'umara' too much. Their Prophet insulted; their religion insulted; their Book insulted; themselves insulted. They reached breaking point. They cursed Abu-lFazl and his colleagues; cursed Birbar;⁴ cursed the Jesuits.

What was happening was not limited to the Court. The news spread in the Provinces. Bihar was already in arms. In Bengal Muzzaffar Khan, the Imperial Governor,

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 211;212, 260.

2. Aquaviva's letter to the Rector of Goa, cited in Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 175.

3. Badaoni, ii, p. 260.

4. " , p. 274.

had been maltreating Turkman nobles regarding the arrears and the branding of horses. News of the Neo-Islam from the court reached them.¹ They held a conclave ^{and reached a} ~~unanimously~~ ^{unanimous decision.} ~~decided.~~ Under the Turkman general Baba Khan Qaqshal they
1580 rose in revolt.²

The King's authority in Bihar had come to an end. The loyalists had been defeated and the Imperial Bakhshi, Rai Parkhotam, put to death.³ Now there opened correspondence between Baba Khan and Masum Khan Kabli, the rebel leader in Bihar. They came to an understanding and the Bihar forces joined ^{the} ~~the~~ Turkmans in Bengal. The combined forces marched against Muzzaffar Khan and beseiged him in the fort of Tanda. The fort fell and he was put to death. The whole of Bengal and Bihar were in rebel hands.⁴

Under the richly decorated gorgeous 'Bargah', the tent
1580 audience avenue, made for presentation to Akbar, the rebel leaders met and declared Akbar's brother, Mirza Hakim, Emperor of Hindustan. He had been invited to invade the country from the North-west in collaboration. In

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 293.
(the 9th cause of the rebellion).
 2. Badaoni, ii, p. 280.
NuD Ahmad, ii, pp. 348-49.
AulF, iii, pp. 290-91.
 3. Badaoni, ii, p. 281.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 350.
AulF, iii, p. 287.
 4. Badaoni, ii, pp. 281-82.
NuD Ahmad, ii, pp. 350-51.
AulF, iii, pp. 301-304.

his absence Masum Khan Kabli was made his 'Vakil' or the vice-gerent and was given the title of Khan-eDorān. Baba Khan Qaqshāl was appointed the governor of Bengal and was entitled Khan-eKhanān. Jabbari, his grandson, son of Majnūn Khan, became Khan-eJahān and Panj Hazari. Wazir Jamīl was awarded the title of Khan Zaman and the office of Tozak Begi. Khaldin was entitled Āzam Khan, Mirza Beg Bahadur Khan and Jan Mohammad Behsudi Khan-eĀlam. Arb Bahadur, the other prominent rebel leader of Bihar, was awarded the title of Shujāat Khan.¹ Actual command lay in the hands of Masum Khan Kabli and Baba Khan Qaqshāl, but to grace their side with some person of royal pretensions, they declared Mirza Sharf-udDin Hussain, Akbar's son-in-law, as their supreme commander.²

Akbar meanwhile had sent Raja Todar Mall against the Bihar rebels and all the nobles still loyal in the East were ordered to co-operate with him.³

Masum Khan Farnakhudi, governor of Jonepur, joined him with his three thousand well-trained soldiers. But he

1. AulF, iii, pp. 304-305.

2. " , p. 305.
MuD Ahmad, ii, p. 351.

Badaoni, ii, p. 282.
3. AulF, iii, p. 287.

که در وقت گفتگو، مسلمانهای صریح و عقیق و ارشاد مردم در این صفت باشد

بهم انگیزا دیده بود.

به یونان - ۲۶ - ۴ - ۲۸۳

WATER ATOP
(100)
EXTRA STRONG

seemed to be harbouring treason in his mind.¹ Humayun Farmuli, who had witnessed the Emperor examining the beliefs of Muslims at Ajmer and heard the discourses on 'neo-Islamics', openly deserted the Raja and along with Turkman Divana went over to the enemy.²

Everything was being reported to the Emperor. Akbar did not fail to realize the gravity of the situation.³ Mirza Aziz Koka had been stripped of his office, all of his ranks and honours and confined to his residence and garden, because he opposed the Branding Regulations, so dear to the Emperor. But his loyalty was above suspicion. Akbar now restored him to his previous position, appointed him as the governor of Bengal, awarded him the robes of honour and he was sent to fight the rebels in the East.⁴ Shahbaz Khan, the intrepid general fighting against the Rana, was also recalled from Mewar and despatched against the rebels.⁵

Akbar's wrath now fell upon the priestly class.

-
1. AulF, iii, pp. 306-307.
Badaoni, ii, p. 282.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 351.
 2. Badaoni, ii, p. 283.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 352.
AulF, iii, p. 308.
 3. Badaoni, ii, p. 282.
 4. AulF, iii, pp. 308-309.
 5. " , p. 314.

1580 Mulla Mohammad Yazdi and Mir Moazz-ulMulk were sent for from Jonepur. When they reached Firozabad, about fifty miles from Agra, they were ordered to be separated from their soldiers and carried to Gawalior, crossing the Jamna in boats. ~~Just after~~ ^{Soon afterwards} another 'farman' ~~reached~~ ^{arrived} ~~ordering their destruction.~~ ~~They were to be destroyed.~~ Hence the guards took seat in one boat and they two were seated alone in another old boat. In the midst of the river, "the boat of their life was sunk amid the whirls of death". Soon after Qazi Yaqub arrived from Bengal and was despatched "to follow them". One by one every one of the 'mullas' who were suspected of disloyalty were sent to the "Secret chamber of non-existence".¹

To break the influence of the 'ulama' at Lahore, they were spread out over the country. ^{such} At ~~far~~-flung places they were virtually exiled. Qazi Sadar-udDin Lahori was appointed Qazi of Baraich in Gujrat. Mulla Abd-ulShakur was appointed Qazi of Jonepur. Mulla Mohammad Masum was sent to Bihar. Shaikh Munavvar was appointed Sadar of Malwa. Many others suffered the same fate. Haji Ibrahim Sarhandi was also sent away from the Court to act as Sadar of Gujrat.²

Akbar also turned his attention towards the 'mushaikh'. He wanted to know if they and the 'ulama' were really what they were said to be, truly deserving of the rent-free

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 276-77.

2. " , p. 277.

برکے انزبہ گی برد باجیلر سماء یا نوز قلدی دارد -

بر الونی - ۲۶ - ۳ - ۲۶

state lands they were holding.

Moreover, he had utterly lost faith in their pretensions to guide others spiritually. He had tried them long and found them wanting. Still many of them had hundreds of disciples and thus exercised considerable influence. Akbar wanted to put an end to this public influence of their's based upon unreality.

1580 He issued orders, therefore, to the 'ulama' and the 'mushaikh' throughout the country to present themselves in the Court. The Emperor would himself interview everyone of them and settle the questions of ~~his~~ land according to ~~his~~ qualifications. The lands were reduced in every case anyhow. But those of the 'mushaikh, or the so called saints, who ~~proved making~~ ^{had} disciples, organizing music-assemblies or showing some miraculous tricks were straightway imprisoned in forts or exiled to Bengal or Bhakkar.¹

But the Royal Saint himself was trying to secure the utmost loyalty and sincerity from his own disciples.

When Akbar's life was intensely religious and in certain respects on the pattern of a saint, people began to accept him as their Piro Murshid (the Spiritual Guide), take 'beat' (an oath of spiritual allegiance) to him and become his 'murids' (disciples). Due to

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 278-79.

his present innovations his position as the Piro Murshid dwindled among his courtiers. Those who accepted his new-fangled ideas were less than a dozen. The prominent among them at the time were Birbar and Abu-lFazl, a Brahman and a Mulla's son, who had no principles in life except to serve the man in power. In Abu-lFazl's attitude one easily discerns the cynical 'Yes, Sir' of a successful courtier.

Such were the persons who still named themselves as
1580 the Shahinshahs' murids and called him their Piro Murshid. For them, this year, the Emperor Saint, initiated Four grades of Sincerity. Those who were prepared to spend their wealth in the service of their spiritual lord stood on the lowest rung. Next came those who would sacrifice their life also. After them was the number of those who would give their honour as well. On the highest stood those who would renounce not only their wealth, life and honour, but also their religion, explained as merely a particular outward form. The loyalty and sincerity were emphasised when they were needed most.

Akbar had sent three of his most prominent generals, one the most tactful, the second most loyal and the third most warlike against the rebels in the East. But he

د با اشرت تقنه اندك بن ايجان (هابل) بگالم آيمه و لشعده اخواني و به اخويزي برشت.

ايرام - ۳۶ - ۴ - ۲۹۲

himself would not leave the Capital. He expected Hakim's invasion from the North West.¹ He must be ready to march ahead and meet him in the Panjab rather than go to the East and leave the Capital for the invader with all its prestige and treasures.

The rebellion in the East was not an ordinary rebellion. Powerful nobles had rebelled throughout the Eastern provinces, championing the cause of religion and in the name of equally respectable Royal scion. Treason was also simmering under the surface in the Court, among the rank and file, throughout the masses. They were not sure about the consequences. Hence their ^{apparent} loyalty in spite of their disloyal intentions. The whole of the personnel of the rival government had been set up in the East. The rebels had been and were in communication with the West - the Kabal Government. Roshan Beg had been sent from Kabal to instigate rebellion in Bengal.² Mulla Mohammad Yazdi, Qazi of Jonepur, had given the 'fatwa' that to fight against Akbar had become the religious duty of every Muslim. Mir Moazz-ul-Mulk, another noble from the priestly class, was with him. Qazi Yaqub, the Qazi of Bengal, once the Imperial Qazi, had joined them. Humayun

1. AulF, iii, p. 335.

2. " , p. 292.

عیدی

دبیر سرکار افریوزینہ شکر شہ -
کراچی - ج ۳ - ۴ - ۳۰۶

LIBERATOR
EXTRA STRONG

Farmuli and Turkhan Divana of the Imperial army, with their contingents, openly deserted the loyalist Todar in the name of religion. The attitude of many others was clearly treasonable. The most prominent of them was the powerful governor of Jonepur, Masum Khan Farnakhudi. Mirza Ali Alamshahi, Mirki, Edi, Shahab Bakhshi and Kochak Yasaval were preparing to escape towards the East. Mir Ali Akbar ~~would help the rebels by conveying their mutual messages.~~^{1.} ~~and by his nonsense talk.~~²

1579 Akbar tried to pacify the public. On his return journey from his Ajmer visit ^{in the previous} ~~last~~ year, he had ordered a tent-mosque to accompany the royal entourage, where he would duly say five prayers publicly everyday.² This 1580 year Prince Danyal was sent to pay respects at the Ajmer tomb and was given five thousand rupees to distribute among the people at that place.³

Not only Shahbāz had been recalled from his command against the Rana, ceasing successful operations in that quarter, generals of Malwa and Gujrat had also been ordered to end hostilities in the Deccan and await orders. One

1. AulF, iii, pp. 298, 309.

2. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 347.

3. Badaoni, ii, p. 288.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 355.
AulF, iii, p. 316.

این بازیافت را چه تون نام بنید؟ و طلبکار بیگم را از کجای کرده تون نشمرد؟

کریه-ج-۳-۳۱۶

of them, Shujāat Khan, governor of Malwa, was actually sent for.¹ Such was the gravity of the situation.

1580 In the very midst of fighting against the rebels, Khawja Shah Mansur, the Imperial Finance minister, demanded arrears in the severest terms from Tarsun Mohammad Khan and Masum Khan Farnakhudi. The latter's loyalty had already been wavering. Tarsun Mohammad Khan was the ~~biggest~~ ^{most important} loyalist noble in the East fighting for the Imperial cause. They were exasperated. Instead of receiving rewards and encouragement at the time they were risking their lives on the battlefield and not joining the rebel cause, they were getting reprimands.² It was, as if, to drive them to the enemy ranks.

Conspiracy at the Court.
Shah Mansur's action at this particular juncture could have a motive. Abu-lFazl does not pursue the subject and leaves it after having made one interrogative remark: "What should I call this demand? and belonging to which party should I consider the out-of-time demander?"³ But this one remark provides us with a perspective peep into the situation. The existence of a disloyal party is clearly implied.

1. AulF, iii, pp. 312-13.

2. " , p. 316.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 354.
Badaoni, ii, 287.

3. AulF, iii, p. 316.

And Akbar did suspect his Finance Minister of belonging to that party. He was dismissed from office and sent to prison.¹

The Emperor was much in distress these days, anxiously watching his court and wishfully awaiting news from the Western front. Sometime we find him excusing rebels for their conduct, because all was decreed and destined; sometime foretelling the destruction of the mischievous and reversion to loyalty of the virtuous.²

When the enemy raised the seige of Monghir and fled away and the news reached the Capital, the religious Emperor praised his God and thanked Him for His help with deep sincerity and utter humility. In the hour of his happiness he would praise and worship his Lord.³

But the rebellion was not yet over. Akbar took an oath promising his God that if the insurrection failed, he himself and his courtiers, in gratitude, would not kill certain animals for twelve years to come.⁴

1581 In the beginning of the next year, Mirza Hakim was reported to have sent his vanguard under Shādman across the Indus.

It was repulsed by Kanwar Mān Singh, who had at once been ordered from Sialkot to march ahead and take charge of the frontier.

1. AulF, iii, pp. 315-16.

2. " , p. 319.

3. " , p. 320.

4. AulF, iii, pp. 333-34.

Akbar despatched Rai Rai Singh, Jagan Nath, Raja Gopal and others, with numerous war elephants, towards Lahore, but at the same time ordered the generals in charge of the frontier ^{to} let Mirza Hakim cross the river and enter Panjab.¹

The ~~Emper~~or now prepared to meet his invading brother. The capital was entrusted to Sultan Khawja, Shah Quli Mahram and Shaikh Ibrahim with Prince Danyal at their head. Accompanied by his two sons, Prince Salim and Prince Murad and ^{their} forces, who had received eight months pay in advance,ⁱ he left Fatahpur.²

A few days later he was at Delhi. There he paid visits to his old gods, tombs of various saints,³ more for the sake of his subjects perhaps.

Shah Mansur had been suspected of doubledealing and imprisoned. But soon, when his successor, Wazir Khan, had to be sent away as the governor of Avadh, he was restored to his previous position.⁴

1. AulF, iii, p. 337.

2. AulF, iii. p. 337.
Badaoni, ii, p. 291.

3. AulF, iii, p. 341.

4. " , p. 327.

i. The well-paid forces are the least prone to defection. Akbar knew it well.

خندم و عصفور آنکه و ارقم کجی و نیک اندیشی بهیم می رسد - در مائیه باثر تو ج می گردد -
درین نزدیکی به نتایج آن اختصاص خواهد یافت -

ارنم - ج ۳ - ۴ - ۳۴۲

مکثانی

و به کاران را تیزتر گرداند -

ارنم - ج ۳ - ۴ - ۳۴۲

او (مکثانی) را از تعوف بازداشتند (نقیه گردانیدند) - همان روز از فورج با سخنان جانبازی
نهیوراند - و عیار شدت نیندی گزاشد - در روزگار ما فن زن پرستار و در شوب بر تازگی داشت -

ارنم - ج ۳ - ۴ - ۳۴۲

Shādman, Mirza Hakim's general, was killed fighting against Man Singh. Among his private things were found three letters from Mirza Hakim. Man Singh sent them to Akbar. One of them was addressed to Khawja Shah Mansur, in which his professions of loyalty and co-operation were acknowledged and he was promised due reward. Akbar considered it expedient to keep silent.¹

When, on his march towards ^{the} Panjab, Akbar reached Sonipat, Malik Sani, Divan of Mirza Hakim, reached the camp, quartered with Shah Mansur, sought service through him and gave out that he had suffered at the hands of the Mirza and had, hence, deserted him. But it was said to be simply a ruse; he was believed to have been sent ^{to} ~~for~~ canvassing among the courtiers and "^{hasten} ~~precipitating~~ the evil doers in their scheme".²

Akbar imprisoned the Malik. Khawja Mansur opposed it and there was raised an uproar. The Emperor's suspicions about the Khawja were doubly supported. He sent him also to prison.³

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 342.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 358.
Badaoni, ii, p. 292.
 2. AulF, iii, pp. 342-43.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 358.
Badaoni, ii, p. 292.
 3. AulF, iii, p. 343.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 358.
Badaoni, ii, p. 292.

تا گوشه‌های کوفته اندیش دراز از شد و تنبیه به بوسه‌های بجا را گردد -

اگر نام - ۳۲ - ۳۴۳۴

از اینجا که در مار از نا توان پنهان فرومایه برشته بود و وقت نازک -

اگر نام - ۳۲ - ۳۴۳۴



A few days later another set of letters incriminating the Khawja were brought to the Emperor. On this Akbar ordered Shah Mansur to provide sureties for his loyal conduct or suffer death "to become an example for the short-sighted and the greedy and serve as an eye-opener for the vicious going astray". He was unable to do it and was ordered to be hanged, "because the time was in chaos due to the weak and the base, and the moment was critical."¹

The letters which led to the destruction of Shah Mansur have been said to be a forgery on the part of Karm-ul Lah and certain other nobles.² The references to "the evildoers", "the short-sighted and the greedy", "the vicious going astray", "the weak and the base", and to "the chaos of time" and "the critical moment" give out in unequivocal terms the existence of treason and conspiracy.

The second set of letters which brought about the death of Sha Mansur seems clearly the concoction of his enemies. Not only because they have been dubbed so by the trustworthy contemporary historians like Nizam-ud Din Ahmad and Badaoni, but also because of the way in which they were said to have fallen into the hands of the Imperialists.

1. AulF, iii, p.343
NuD Ahmad, ii, pp.358-59
Badaoni, ii, pp.292-93

2. NuD Ahmad, ii, p.363
Badaoni, ii, p.295

the trustworthy contemporary historians like Aizām-uḍḍīn Ahmad and Badaoni, but also ^{because of} the way in which they were said to have fallen into the hands of the Imperialists.

Malik Ali brought these letters to the Court and related that his men, returning from the Ludhiana ferry (which was under his supervision) met in an inn at Sarhand a courier, whose feet had swollen. He told them that he was a servant of Shah Beg who was in the service of Khawja Shah Mansur and the 'Shiqdar' of his jagir at Firozepur, thirty 'karohs' from Lahore; that Shah Beg had sent those letters to Khawja Shah Mansur through him, but, as his feet had swollen, he would be very thankful to them if they took charge of the letters and conveyed them to the addressee. Malik Ali told the Emperor that his men had brought home those letters and broke the seal,¹ and the treasury^{able} documents had come to light.¹

-
1. AulF, iii, pp. 342-43.
MuD Ahmad, ii, pp. 358-59.
Badaoni, ii, pp. 292-93.

- i. Why? instead of handing them over to the Khawja.
Perhaps, as the Malik would have said, because they also suspected the Khawja. Workers at a ferry knowing about the conspiracy which Akbar was trying to keep to himself alone!

The whole story reads like an unconvincing piece of fiction. But to understand the political tension of the moment and that of Akbar's mind, one has to know that he did believe it and sentenced his Divan to death.

Karm-ullah and his accomplices were shrewd enough to gauge the situation and think of this fabrication to destroy the man they hated.

But Shah Mansur had already provided ample ground for suspicion of his treason. The first set of letters cannot be so easily disposed of. It appears related to facts rather than fiction. Nizam-udDin and Badaoni both¹ declare that all the letters ^{in both sets} were forged. But it seems just a generalization of the whole matter, when actually only the second set proved a concoction later on, ~~however~~ they particularly emphasize the forgery of the second set.¹

~~If this is not so~~

~~if not~~, two problems remain unsolved.

Firstly, the first set of letters was in the handwriting of Mirza Hakim's Secretary.² How did Karm-ullah establish contact with him? Was the Secretary also a

1. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 363.
Badaoni, ii, p. 295.

2. AulF, iii, p. 342.

i. Smith says that Nizam-udDin Ahmad declares only the second set of letters to be a forgery and it is Badaoni who includes them all under the same category (Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 196). This is not correct. (NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 363.. Badaoni, ii. p. 295).

از حجم نامواقفان در مذہب و شرب شمرده -

برائوتی - ۲۶ - ۲۸۵۴

traitor to his own master? Karm-ullah was a brother of Shahbāz Khan and belonged to the loyalist party in Hindustan. ~~If not~~, Why did he join hands with Karm-ullah to ~~convene~~ ^{compass} the death of Shah Mansur?

Secondly, the letters in the first set were not all addressed to Shah Mansur. Two of the three were addressed to Qasim Khan Mir-eBehr and Hakim-ulMulk Gilani.¹ What motive had Karm-ullah and his friends to destroy them also? They had no grudge against them, so far as we can find in the historical record.

On the other hand we know that Akbar had already exiled Hakim-ulMulk to Mecca, because he was opposing 'the neo-islamic regime',² and that later when Akbar invited him to come back, he would not.³ And we also know that Qasim Khan was the younger brother of Khawjgi Mohammad Hussain, "one of the trusted nobles of Mirza Hakim".⁴

Besides Abu-lFazl's silence regarding the forgery or validity of the letters is significant and two of his

-
1. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 358.
Badaoni, ii, p. 292.
 2. Badaoni, ii, p. 275, 285.
NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 354.
AulF, iii, p. 317.
 3. Badaoni, ii, p. 285.
 4. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 362.
Badaoni, ii, p. 295.
AulF, iii, p. 790.

و ندالت که قلبکاری و دروزه ناپائیدار است -

اگر نام - ج ۳ - ۳۲۲۴

اگر مده نیلشرد ماه ایزدی و فتح اعدای فدویو عالم و بر خیزدانی باغدین و اندک بی طعی دلم رزازی باد بود

مرا نینه لز قهر شمشاد برین روز نشسته - اگر نام - ج ۳ - ۴ - ۴۲ - ۳۴۳

و از کارشناسی یافه گویند عمامه بند شهر را از افتلاط بازی داشتند -

اگر نام - ج ۳ - ۴ - ۳۴۵

remarks about Shah Mansur are revealing: "Shah Mansur did not realise that in the short life counterfeiting has no permanence." "If he had some thankfulness towards his God, some sincerity (of loyalty) towards his king, kindness towards the people and had not been so greedy (ambitious), strict and harmful, the wrath of the Emperor would not have fallen upon him".¹

I have discussed the question of Shah Mansur's treason in detail, because it proves the existence of a conspiracy in the court. There it was and the tension of the situation clearly comes out.

Meanwhile Mirza Hakim, having crossed the Indus, had reached Lahore and besieged it. Said Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das and Kanwar Man Singh were within the city. They would not attack him as they were not allowed to do so. But they were vigilant in guarding the city and kept the "big-turbaned nonsense-talkers of the city from communicating with the enemy outside."²

This casual half a sentence confirms the existence of a hostile priestly class at Lahore as well, who were opposed to Akbar and ready to welcome his brother; and

1. AulF, iii, p. 342, 343-44.

2. " , pp. 345-47.

their presence implies the existence of people under their influence.

From Sarhand, Akbar issued orders to Provincial governors, 'shiqdars' and other administrative officials throughout his realm to prepare a record, village by village, of every man and his profession and to see that everyone followed some honest trade in earning his livelihood. They were to examine the means of income and to keep an eye upon the expenditure of every man. The motive behind the plan was that the priestly and the saintly people who were receiving or taking money from the masses were ^{to be} hunted out. ~~They had become the~~ ~~bugbear.~~ [±]

But their champion Mirza Hakim had already raised the siege of Lahore and was hurriedly fleeing back towards Kabal. The approach of the awe-inspiring Mahā Bali was too much for him.

From Sarhand to Kalanor, crossing Satluj near Machhiwara, from Kalanor, crossing Ravi near that city, Chanab near Ramgadh and Jehlum near Rawalpindi, Akbar reached the bank of Indus. It formed the Northwestern frontier of his Empire and to forestall future trouble he had decided to strengthen this outline of defence, building here a strong fort and keeping ^a powerful garrison

1. AulF, iii, pp. 346-47.

د بعضی بہاؤ خواہی ان عنودہ بکت بافرجام -

کریم - ۳۷-۲-۲۵۵

داز سیردی ازیدی تائید دستان زندگی این گرده نشکر - خوشی مستند در شکر داند داشت - و فرخ زرق آلود

کهن عالی سوگر یا منی افزوست - کریم - ۳۷-۲-۲۵۵

therein. This decision of Akbar's also speaks of the seriousness of the situation felt at the moment. With his own hands now he laid the foundation stone and christened the fort as Attack Banaras against another frontier fort in the extreme east named Cuttack Banaras.¹

Akbar had determined to advise ~~good conduct~~ to his brother after having entered his Capital. 'Because a thousand pieces of advice from afar are not so effective as one to one's face'.² Hence he now decided to cross the Indus and march towards Kabal. The idea was, no doubt, to declare thus his complete triumph.

But his nobles did not wish to proceed to Kabal, some of them certainly because of their sympathies with Mirza Hakim. Akbar asked Abu-lFazl to write down their opinions for him.³

He tells us that they could not convince him of the wisdom of their decision because he "had no white hair and long beard and the cloak of hypocrite old age."⁴ He is here referring to some of the nobles and thus confirms the existence of some veteran nobles, not loyal to the depths of their heart.

-
1. AulF, iii, pp. 347, 355.
 2. " , p. 347.
 3. " , p. 355.
 4. " , p. 355.

Akbar himself was hesitant to march upon Kabal, but on very different grounds. He didnot want his brother to flee to Turan.¹ The tale of Akbar's apostasy from Islam had reached beyond the confines of his Empire. The Turanis were very zealous in religious matters. A son of Humayun in the hands of a powerful monarch like Abd-ullah Khan Uzbek of Turan would have been a dangerous pawn on the chessboard of politics.

Akbar wanted Mirza Hakim to come to terms on the lines he had dictated. But in vain. To accomplish this, he must reach Kabal.

But he was not sure of the full co-operation of his generals. He earnestly desired their consent or wanted to know their opinions, to search their hearts, to discern their motives. Again they were asked to convene a conference and Abu-lFazl to record the minutes, but with no better results. Their unanimous decision, except Abu-lFazl, was to accept Mirza Hakim's terms and return to Hindustan. Most of them were afraid of the cold regions. Akbar was much annoyed and ~~said "Allright, I will go alone with the personal guard and the lascars".~~ ^{prepared} ~~The Akbarian decision was made. All others~~ ^{The umara} had to follow him.²

1. AulF, iii, p. 354.

2. " , pp. 357-58.

The Emperor had already sent ahead a strong force with Man Singh, Mirza Yusuf Khan, Rai Rai Singh, Karm-ullah (the forger of the Shah Mansur case letters) Sayyad Hamid Bukhari, Makhsus Khan, Qalij Khan, Norang Khan, Madho Singh and others with Prince Murad at their head.¹ Mirza Hakim would not submit without fighting.

So common were the rumours about the defection of Akbar's nobles and forces that they were generally ~~believed~~ ^{expected} to change sides on the battlefield. Mirza Hakim considered as if all of them were worth-trying and threw his feelers before the battle. Letters were sent to Qalij Khan, Mirza Yusuf Khan, Norang Khan, Ali Murad and some other leaders of the Chughtai clans, expecting betrayal and promising rewards. But Akbar had been very careful in selecting his advance army. Qasim Khan and the like had been left behind on the Indus bank. Mirza Yusuf Khan tore the letter into pieces and Ali Murad ~~killed~~ the letter-bearer.²

1. AulF, iii, p. 353.

2. " , pp. 364, 356, 366.

Mirza Hakim fought to his utmost and when defeated took shelter among the neighbouring hills. The resources of a small poor hilly tract were matched against the whole strength and vast wealth of Hindustan. The pick of Akbar's army and ~~the~~ best of his personal elephants had been sent in advance. He himself was coming behind with such seasoned generals as Zen Khan Koka and Muttalab Khan and the rest of the huge army was encamped beside the Indus.¹ Akbar had mobilized the biggest army he ever did throughout his long military career. Perhaps he wanted all his nobles, including waverers, to remain directly under his eye. Whatever the cause, it shows how serious he considered the danger of this insurrection.

But the danger was by now practically over. Akbar entered Kabal triumphantly. He tried his best to persuade Mirza Hakim to come to see him, but in vain. Though he tendered his apologies, begged his forgiveness, proffered his allegiance and sent his son to pay homage to his uncle.ⁱ² Akbar pardoned him and restored his kingdom. The subjugation of the insurrection from the west was complete. He now started on his return journey.

1. AulF, iii, pp. 356, 360, 365.

2. " , pp. 367, 368-369.

i. The Kingdom of Kabal was restored to Mirza Hakim, not to his sister as Smith says (Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 200). AulF, iii, p. 369. NuD Ahmad, ii, p. 362, Badaoni, ii, p. 295.

نسیم خوشدل از فتح پوری آید - که پادشاه من زیرا در دور می آید -
چه دولت است قدمش که مردم از دل صحن - هزار گونه طرب در ظهور می آید -
نخستین باید بایم قدم او نفیض - که عالی به مقام حضور می آید -

اگر نامه - ۳۲ - ۳۴۲

ببخش شودش بزرگ که فرمان در این وسعت آباد هند را بیاطر نرسیده لید به بهترین روش بجای آید - ابوالفضل

اگر نامه - ۳۲ - ۳۴۲

On the Indus bank Shaikh Farid ~~reached~~ ^{arrived} from Bihar with the tidings of the suppression of rebellion in that province.

When the Emperor had crossed the Indus and entered Hindustan, Raja Todar Mall reached the court and repeated the happy news.

Akbar reached Delhi, visited the grave of his father, Humayun, and stayed with the Queen Dowager, Haji Begum.

In the evening he was informed that his mother, Queen Maryam Makani, had come out from the Capital to receive her son. The Emperor left Delhi and went ahead to receive his mother.

1581 Akbar proceeded towards Fatahpur, where the poet laureate was singing his 'Ode to the Emperor':

The lightsome breeze is blowing in Fatahpur

Because my king approaches from afar.¹

As there was little fierce fighting, this campaign of Akbar may appear to us merely full of fury. But the contemporaries had a better appreciation. They said that it was one of the biggest rebellions in the history of India and that Akbar suppressed it successfully.²

Shāhbāz Khan had joined the court at Panipat with great pomp and show and paid his homage to the Emperor. After having completely suppressed the rebellion in Bihar,

1. AulF, iii, pp. 369, 370, 372, 373, 374.

2. " , p. 373.

he had returned to the Capital and during the interval, in the country from the confines of Bengal to the frontiers of Panjab, he had been behaving like an absolute monarch, bestowing jagirs and 'mansabs' of whatever magnitude he liked and upon whomsoever he liked, without any reference to the Emperor. When Akbar ~~talked of why and wherefore,~~ ^{questioned his behaviour} ~~he replied.~~

"Dear Emperor, if I had not rewarded them and patronized them in this way, they would have rebelled one and all. Now you have come.

Let them have whatever you like.

Get back whatever you like.

The soldier is yours.

The country is yours."¹

The Revolt was over.

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 296.

IV.

AKBAR'S NEW RELIGION. ITS GENESIS.

The rebellion in protest against Akbar's religious vagaries failed, because inspite of them, Akbar had some sterling qualities. His rewards, his patronage, his sympathies, his whole treatment of his Muslim nobility, had not been disturbed by his ever changing religious views.

Besides, everyone could feel his sincerity. Many of his nobles loved him so much that they would not hold him responsible for his certain beliefs. They would give vent
1579 to their mortification by rebuking that "infernal dog of a Birbar" and continue serving him with unswerving loyalty.¹ At the same time, there were others who were attached to him by the 'milk-ties'¹ which were not less than blood-ties. They were in fact rather stronger, because there was no question of claiming the throne. They rested wholly on affection, sincere service and ample rewards. There were still others who were attached to Akbar inseparably, brought up by him from childhood. Such were the great Shahbāz, Abd-urRahim KhanKhanan, Aziz Khan Koka, Zen Khan Koka, Qutb-udDin Khan Atka, Sharif Khan Atka and many others.

Moreover, the whole strength of the Hindu nobility was ranged on Akbar's side: Raja Bhagwan Das, Todar Mall,

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 274.

i. foster-relations.

Rai Rai Singh, Kanwar Man Singh and hundreds of others whom Akbar could safely trust.

But the rebellion chiefly failed because the man to whom the traitors looked to lead the movement ruined the whole scheme. The only chance of success for Mirza Hakim was ^{Per} ~~in~~ Akbar's nobles ~~were~~ to change sides at the crucial moment. But they would not unless he showed capabilities to lead them to success. He proved unequal to the task and the waverers became confirmed loyalists. A statesman conqueror like Akbar had not questioned the waverers and now accepted their loyalty at its face value.¹

-
- i. We may not forget the geographical factor however. Kabal and Bihar-Bengal are wide apart. In those days of slow communications, therefore, inspite of the efforts of the parties concerned, simultaneous action could not be taken. Nobles in Bihar and Bengal rebelled first and invited Mirza Hakim to collaborate with them. Masum Khan Farnakhudi, Governor of Jonepur and later of Avadh, would not join them until Mirza Hakim had come down and strengthened their cause. By the time the news of Mirza Hakim's invasion reached him and he rose in revolt, rebel leaders in Bihar had already been dispersed. Mirza Hakim was not yet able to create any diversion, when Farnakhudi was attacked and defeated. Next came the turn of Mirza Hakim to be pursued to the very walls of his Capital and be routed there. After Akbar's return from Kabal, rebellion in Bengal was easily suppressed. The rebels had to fight single-handedly and fall one after another.

Inspite of the fact that Akbar's religious beliefs had become publicly disturbing, nobles in Bihar and Bengal would not have thought of rebellion, if Mulla Tayyab and Parkhotam Bakhshi in Bihar and Muzzaffar Khan in Bengal had not been so tactless in their demands of arrears and so severe in 'branding the horses' of the nobles in these provinces. To make the situation utterly exasperating, the personnel of the Branding department happened to be corrupt. Baba Khan Qaqshal would complain, "Seventy thousand rupees I have paid 'as presents' so far, and not even one hundred horses have been passed and branded."¹

What the nobles of Bihar and Bengal wanted was not a change in Akbar's religious beliefs, but the redemption or gradual repayment of their arrears, mild and sympathetic policy in requiring them to accord to the new branding regulations along with the easy restoration of their jagirs and the removal of their tyrannous immediate superiors. When once in revolt, they were afraid of the consequences. They had now to fight it out and work for final success. Political adventurers like Sharf-udDin Hussain Mirza and others joined them ~~to grind their own axe~~ *for their own purposes.*

And if Shah Mansur was heading a conspiracy in the court, he had a grudge against the royal favourite, Raja Todar Mall, the rival Divan, who had once thrust him

1. AulF, iii, p. 291.

into prison¹ and being malicious and revengeful² could not be expected to hesitate in his destruction on the first opportunity.

Restiveness on religious grounds was not the primary cause of the rebellion. The rebels took advantage of it. They utilized it to the utmost.

If the primary motive of the rebellion was not religious but worldly, Akbar knew it and was prepared to crush it with worldly power. He was also aware of the contribution of the priestly and saintly classes.

Akbar did not think of abandoning his search after 'the truth'. It never occurred to him that he was doing something wrong or injuring Muslim feelings. If some people were misconstruing his motives, they were the ignorant to be pitied or the mischievous to be severely dealt with. Just when the rebellion in the East was brewing and even after it had broken out, Akbar was discussing Christian doctrines with the Jesuits. Father Monserrate accompanied him in his Kabal expedition in the capacity of tutor of his second son, Prince Murad. On his way to Kabal, he visited Shaikh Jamāl at Thanesar and after much talk about God on the part of the Emperor and the Saint, Akbar wanted him "to relieve him of the bewilderment of his thoughts

1. AulF, iii, p. 193.

2. " , pp. 158, 569.

and the distress of his heart" and asked him why everyone was differing about God and 'the way to God'.¹ When in the North-Western Panjab the Emperor visited Tilla Balnath¹ near Rohtas and meeting the 'jogis',ⁱⁱ there had a talk with them.²

1581 On his return journey, at Lahore, Akbar appointed new 'sadars', in charge of the bestowal, resumption, cut of and enquiry into the state endowment lands.

The Sadar Abd-unNabi's jurisdiction comprised the whole of the Empire. Later Akbar appointed some provincial 'sadars'. But the final organisation of this department, having a provincial sadar, in every province, in charge of the whole of that province, with a Chief Sadar at their head, in the central government at the Capital, had not as yet crystallised. Some of the sadars appointed were incharge of more than one province, while others were entrusted with only a part of a province.

The provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat were given in charge of Hakim Abu-lFatah. Agra, Kalpi and Kalanjar were entrusted to Shaikh Faizi, ^{He} country from Hajipur to Saru to Hakim Hamam, Bihar to Hakim Ali and Bengal to Hakim En-ulMulk.³ For an immediate enquiry into the

1. AulF, iii, p. 341.

2. " , p. 350.

3. " , p. 372.
Badaoni, ii, p. 296.

i. The hill of the Hindu Saint Bālnath. It is said that he used to worship there.

ii. jagis - Hindu monks.

تالارین گرده، بزرگ، شمار، دراز آستین، دوگاه، باشه - ابرنام - ۳۶ - ۳۶۲۴ -

endowment lands in the Panjab, 'sadars' were appointed in its various 'doabs' (lands between every two rivers). There were Mulla Allahdād of Amroha, Mulla Allahdād of Sultanpur, Mulla Shah Mohammad of Shahpur and Mulla Sheri.¹

1581 The important point about these appointments is that they reveal Akbar's policy towards the priestly classes. If they were loyal, then they were endowed, they were taken into the king's service, they were appointed to government posts like Mulla Allahdād, Mulla Shah Mohammad and Mulla Sheri. They themselves might hold the most orthodox religious views, but not denounce their emperor in public, or engender sedition. At the same time we find that the ^{important} ~~big~~ charges were not entrusted to the ecclesiastics but to men of letters and medicine, like Hakim (physician) Abu-lFatah, Hakim Hamam, Hakim Ali, Hakim En-ulMulk and Shaikh Faizi, the poet laureate, who were the Emperor's most trusted courtiers and of liberal religious views. Akbar was aware of the danger of concentrating power in the hands of the 'ulama' and was not prepared to revive it, once it had been broken.

1581 In addition, men of similar type were appointed in the big cities to supervise the conduct of Qazis in the surrounding areas, to control this class having "big turbans" (respectability) and "long sleeves" (greed)².

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 295-96.

2. AulF, iii, p. 372.

Direct from his Kabal expedition, before reaching Fatahpur, Akbar visited Mathra and went to see the Brahmans there.¹

1581 The saintly Aquaviva had been awaiting the Emperor's return, at the Capital, to make the most glorious convert to the Catholic Church. On his return Akbar resumed discussions and invited Shaikh Qutb Jalesri to take part therein. The Shaikh said, "Let a bonfire be lit and the Farangi and myself enter it. Whomsoever comes out unhurt will be the ~~follower~~ of the right path". The fire was lit and placing his hand round the waist of the Farangi, the Shaikh invited him, "Hān Bismillah! Yes, come on, in the name of God". But the Farangi would not dare to.²

Akbar had already been concerned regarding the influence of the Shaikh in the neighbourhood of the Capital.³ This humiliation of his Jesuit friend and the resultant increase in the prestige of the Shaikh were decisive. He 1581 was exiled to Bhakkar. Some others also had to accompany him. Many others of the same type were exiled to various distant places, like Qandhar.⁴

1. AulF, iii, p. 372.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 299.

3. Monserrate, cited in V.A. Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 176.

3. AulF, iii, p. 309.

4. Badaoni, ii, p. 299.

To uproot the 'mushaikh'¹ from the places where they exercised public influence, sending them to distant places was the usual policy of Akbar. Shaikh Udhan's grandsons, the big 'mushaikh' of Jonepur, that origin of ^{the} ecclesiastical ruling against Akbar, were called to the court, ⁱⁿ this year, 1581 and along with their families were exiled to Ajmer, though an inadequate stipend was also given. Similarly Shaikh Hussain, a scion of the great Khawja and incharge of the Ajmer tomb, who had previously been exiled to Mecca, was now, after his return from there, sent to Bhakkar. He did not perform 'Taslim' and 'Kornish' ^{with} ~~in the~~ scrupulous exactness, ~~this time as well~~, which was taken to smack of disloyalty.¹ Bowing before a man - even if an emperor - was really a difficult task for a Muslim.

Abu-lFazl and others and shias had rendered meritorious services to the cause of Islam. In the Ismaili doctrine particularly, the position of the Prophet is recognised simply to confirm the authority of the Imam. Otherwise the Imam is 'masum' (innocent and infallible) and there are found one hundred and one faults with the poor Prophet. Similar was the case with 'the thinkers'. And the condemnation of the first three successors of the Prophet, in their every aspect of life, is universal among shias of every type. Because it was necessary to establish the

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 300.

i. 'mushaikh' - the saintlike.

hereditary right of succession against the democratic principle of election in whatever form it was there in the case of the first three caliphs. Hence these people would enthusiastically discuss the traditions of the 'Naqa-eQaswa', 'attack upon the Quresh caravan', 'question of the fourteen wives', 'the loss of the Prophet's tooth', 'Tahrim-eNisa', 'the problem of the Fidak gardens', 'battle of Saffin' etc.¹ and condemn Mohammad, Abu-Bakar, Omar and Osman - may God's peace be upon them - whom Muslims love more than their life, their wealth, their children, their all.

1582 The result was that Akbar had been estranged from the Prophet and his Caliphs and from "the modern religion", i.e. Islam (compared to the ancient religions of Persians and Hindus) of "the destitute Arabs, all robbers and highwaymen."²

Moreover, they had been bringing out 'hidden meanings' and explaining far-fetched interpretations of the Quranic texts and the 'ahadis' of the Prophet. Hence Akbar would not believe in Prophethood, Revelation, the Quran as God's word, its continuity, the miracles, the Genesis, the Resurrection and Judgement, immortality of the soul, angels and genii. Similarly he had begun to consider Nimaz (Islamic mode of worship), Roza (fasting a month a year), Haj (pilgrimage to Mecca), the outward regulation of Islamic

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 308, 307.

2. Badaoni, ii, pp. 307, 308,
256, 262.

د ورت فاصه زباني عرب شل شاد حاد عين و حاد و حاد و لا از تلفظ رط سافتنه و
عبداللہ را ابرائیم و احدی را اہم و امثال ان اری گفتند خوشی داشتند - دین دوست
شایانہ را کہ خودی لوسی بلوئی نقل آندہ نمک سافتنه کہ

بیشتر شتر فروتن و سوار - عرب با بجای رسیدہ لہ
کہ کنت عجم را گفتہ آرزو - تو باد بر چرخ گردان تو!

پیرانی - ۲۲ - ۲۰۴۲

life, as bereft of meaning.¹

1582 Soon the 'Nimaz ba jamāt' and the 'Āzan' were abolished from the court. Islam was dubbed as mere 'taqlid', mimicing the people of the past.²

1583 The Emperor did not care when a mosque was occupied by Hindus and turned into a sitting-room or when a Muslim monastery - outside the city - was occupied by Hindu guardsmen. And the graveyard within the city (of Agra) was levelled to the ground under his orders.³

1582 If the Prophet of Islam was not safe from malignant criticism, others were not more sacred. Prophets like David and others were also found fault with and traditions regarding them disbelieved in.⁴

When respect and love for the Prophet had decreased, names like Mohammad, Ahmad, Mustafa, originally the names
1582 and epithets of the Prophet, did not remain attractive for the Emperor. He preferred them to be exchanged ~~with~~ ^{for} others.⁵

Neither did the Emperor consider it worthwhile to twist
1582 the throat to pronounce correctly letters particular to the language of "the cursed eaters of lizards and bibers of camel-milk" (the Arabs). He was much pleased, if they were pronounced otherwise.⁶

1. Badaoni, ii, 307, 273, 306.

2. " , 314, 272.

3. " , p. 322.

4. " , pp. 338-39.

5. " , p. 314.

6. " , p. 307.

To learn the Arabic language and the study of ^{Islam} ~~Islamic~~ of
1582 ^{the} ~~like~~ 'fiqah' (jurisprudence), 'tafsir' (Quranic Commentaries),
'hadis' (Traditions of the Prophet) ^{etc.} became a disqualification.¹

One is surprised to learn of these developments under a Muslim regime and many writers have rejected ~~them~~ and accused Badaoni of false statements. But one who is aware of the Murjite, Qādrīte and Motazilite thought, the Ismaili doctrines and the Buwayite rational movement can understand what was happening in the court and in the mind of the ~~illiterate~~ ~~poor~~ victim on the throne.

1578- I have enumerated the rejections of 'the thinkers'. I
1582 may now turn to their suggestions. Shaikh Mubarak and the Shias to escape the domination of the 'ulama' like Abd-unNabi and others and to feed the spiritual vanity of the Emperor, had been suggesting to him that he was the 'Imam of the age'. Soon after they (not Shaikh Mubarak or Abu-lFazl) had begun to suggest something still higher.

The idea of the coming of a 'promised messiah' to renovate the world was a Jewish tradition which existed before the birth of Christ. The Jews rejected Christ as well as Mohammad, the last of the great Semitic prophets. Muslims too began to await the coming of a saviour. It was essentially a ^{Shi'a} ~~Shi'a~~ doctrine. An Imam, whether Mehdi the seventh or the twelfth Imam, was expected to appear and work for the

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 306-307.

spiritual regeneration and political glory of his followers. The whole of the world was said to fall under his sway and every nation to ~~convert~~^{adopt} to his faith. Many Sunnis also began to believe in this appearance of a saviour. Sometime it was said to be the re-appearance of Christ - the promised Messiah - who was believed not to have been crucified but to have been 'lifted to heaven'. Peter, the traitor, was said to have been metamorphosed into Christ's physical form miraculously and consequently ~~gibbeted on the cross~~^{crucified}.

During the closing years of the sixteenth century A.D. as the first millennium of the ~~Hijra~~^{Hijra} era was coming to a close, it was believed to be the time for the appearance of the 1579 'promised' Imam. The Shias like Sharif Aqli, Molana Shirazi (987.A.H) Jafardan and others suggested that 'the Renovator' in question was the Emperor himself. Mahmud Basakhwani was said to have foretold that, in the year 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.), "the Eraser of falsehoods" would make his appearance. The Emperor was 'Sahib-eDin-eHaq' (The Lord of the True religion) and its numerical ('abjad') value was 990. Other Shias even quoted Ali to the same effect. Some of them put forward quatrains, prophesying the advent of the Mehdi, attributed to Nasir Khusro, the Ismaili 'dai'. One of them ran, :-

"In the year nineteen hundred and ninety (A.H.), I foresee one of the two things. Either Mehdi or Dajjalⁱ will appear." The former will renovate the religion or

i. Dajjal - the anti-Christ.

در نهصد و تسعین دو قرآن می بینم - در سه صد و ده و پنج و دو قرآن نشانی می بینم -
یا ملک بعل گردد یا گردد بدین - برتبه که نشان است عیاشی می بینم -

به یکتائی - ۲۲ - ۲۱۳۴

the latter will devastate the land. I see the secrets that are still concealed."

Akbar was declared to be the 'Lord of the age', the 'Perfect Man', the 'expected Mehdi', prostration before whom was permissible, reverence towards whom was a religious duty and whose face was the 'Qibla o Kaba' to which one was to turn for one's wants and wishes.¹

Hindus were not far behind their Muslim brethren in their suggestions. Brahmins ~~would~~ wrote Hindu verses as if by the sages of the past, foretelling the advent of a great emperor who would respect Brahmins and protect the cow and having written them on old scraps of paper showed them to the Emperor, who was much pleased.²

Such prophecies of the past seem to have been very palatable to the Emperor, and Abu-l-Fazl, for example, is not ashamed of recording a story which is full of prophecy and which, after listing the descent of the rulers of India, concludes with words which are to be taken as referring to Akbar; "Then one of the Lords of the Form and the Meaning, whose intentions, whose actions, whose words, will be according to the Will of God will appear to administer justice on the land."¹

~~1. Akbar, no doubt.~~

1. Badaoni ii, pp. 286-7, 259

2. " " p. 326

از انبوهی تعلید سیگان خرد دشن -

اگر نام - ۲۲ - ۲۸۸۲

دخرد بلندی گراشد -

اگر نام - ۲۲ - ۲۸۸۲

~~in the uncanny and the macabre.~~ And Abu-lFazl translates ~~the~~ details with the same meticulous care with which he records the organisation of Akbar's cavalry, or the Revenue statistics exact to the last 'hepenny'. After all it exalts King Akbar. Whether these prophecies were real or false did not matter. Akbar had determined to translate them into facts.

The power of the priestly class had been broken. The influence of the saintly classes put an end to. The nightmare of a political rebellion on religious grounds had appeared and disappeared. Akbar now felt at liberty to indulge his religious freaks.¹ He could not do it earlier because he was afraid of the blind followers (of Islam).
1582 But the suppression of the rebellion in the East and Northwest had established the triumph of ~~the~~ Reason.² (Akbar's vagaries) and the victorious Reason was now prepared to promulgate its Regulations.

The condemnation of Islam, the Prophet and his successors at the hands of free-lance scholars was merely destructive. It had no constructive aspect. They demolished a superstructure with its dark corners as well as its charming balconies and airy avenues and had nothing to replace it. And whatever debris remained was not

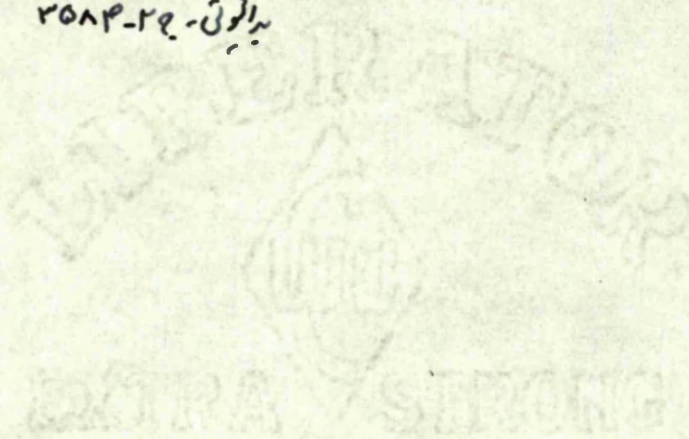
1. Badaoni, ii, p. 301.

2. AulF, iii, p. 378.

Badaoni, ii, p. 301.

تحقیقِ ندایب... صلواتِ آن در مذاقِ افتاده.

بیروتی - ۲۹ - ۲۵۸۴



attractive enough for Akbar. They made him disgusted with the old Islam. They prepared him to become the new Prophet, the Mehdi. He got ready for this. But he would not follow the lines they indicated. So far he had been following them. Now it was their turn to follow him and accept, at least in words, his every whim and always answer an abject 'Yes, Sire!'.

Islam had become something common with Akbar. He had known it for long. Muslim experts themselves had shown him that it was not all good. He had become satiated with it.¹ Change for him was the spice of life. He turned to taste and relish what other chefs had prepared.² Of the Christian, the Hindu, the Jain, the Zoroastrian religion, the last named had appealed most to his imagination, because it was associated with the Grand Spectacle of the Chosroes of Iran.

Ancient Royal Festivals of Persia fascinated him, and the huge red flames of the Perpetual Light of Yazdān, ever leaping up in the Fire Temple, within the Royal Palace at 1578 Madāin. He had ordered a similar fire ~~over~~^{to be} kept burning in his own palace and Abu-lFazl had been made its High Priest.³

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.256
 2. " " p.258
 3. " " p.261

It was on the Zoroastrian Sacred Day of the New Year,
1582 in March 1582, that the Iranian Festivals were introduced¹
and 'the wheel of Akbar Shah came into motion'.

The
Enunciation of the
New
Faith.
1582 One thousand years since the ministry of Mohammad
had passed. The age of his religion was said to be over.ⁱ
To declare this coins were struck bearing the date.²

A new age had begun. One definite period had come to
an end.ⁱⁱ A compact history of this period of ^athousand
years was ordered to be written.³

The Hijra era referred to a man of the past. A great
man had again appeared. To perpetuate his name,ⁱⁱⁱ the
1582 Ilahi Era was inaugurated, commencing from the first
Noroze after Akbar's accession to the throne. The months
of the year were given old Iranian names and Zoroastrian
Ids or festivals, fourteen in number, were introduced.⁴

Of these, the celebrations of the festival of Noroze
were the most spectacular. The festivities went on for
weeks together. The Mina Bazār was held.⁵ Ranks and

1. AulF, iii, p. 378.

Badaoni, ii, p. 301.

2. Badaoni, ii, pp. 301, 306.

3. " , p. 301.

4. " , p. 306.

Ain, i, p. 200.

5. " , p. 200.

i, ii, iii. Such significance of these actions is clearly
stated in Badaoni. Abu-lFazl or Akbar would not dare to.



داین ہم باعث دعویٰ نبوت شدہ امانہ مغلطہ نبوت - بہ البرق - ۲۳ - ۲۸۴۴

Honours and promotions were bestowed upon the officials and Rajas. 'Peshkashs'ⁱ from the 'umara', the Provincial governors and the Rajas were received. Many of them presented themselves in the court to pay their homage afresh. The spoils of war, gold, silver, pearls, jewels, rubies, diamonds, swords, daggers, hawks, slaves, horses, elephants were all presented to the Emperor by the 'Vakils',ⁱⁱ of the generals fighting on the various fronts. And it was at this festival every year that the Commandments of the Royal Prophet were issued henceforth.

Akbar was the 'chosen of God', the 'Prophet of God',¹ the 'representative of God', the 'Expression of God',ⁱⁱⁱ and hence 'Sijdah' or prostration was considered due to him. 1582 It was made the mode of paying respect to the Emperor.²

In this ~~single~~ instance I was inclined to accuse Badaoni of unwarranted exaggeration. I thought he was referring to some mode of paying respect in which one had to bow a bit. But, at least once, in the Ain, Abu-lFazl frankly and candidly records the fact that actual 'Sijdah' was paid to Akbar.³

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 287.

2. " , pp. 301, 259.

3. Ain, i, p. 157.

i. Peshkashs - gifts.

ii. Vakil - agent.

iii. These epithets are not there in exact words, but they are implied in most unequivocal terms.

The 'umara' had to pay it as a necessary evil. But it was explained like this. They actually prostrated before Akbar, but they avowed that they really prostrated before God.¹ There were precedents for this. The Zoroastrians would worship fire and explain that they were really worshipping Yazdan. Jains would worship the idol of Mahavir and explain that they were really worshipping the Creator. Hindus would worship one thousand and one stone statues and clay models and explain that they were really worshipping Parm Ātma. Christians would worship the images of the Virgin and Christ or the crucifixion and explain that they were really worshipping God.

What was the harm, if instead of these dead symbols, the living one of the all-conquering Emperor was substituted in the Temple of the Mughal Court, on ~~the pedestal of~~ the Royal throne?

And the phrase "Allah o Akbar", 'God is Great', was 1582 given the highest prominence.² Two years later it was 1584 ordered to be written at the top of every Royal Farman and on all sorts of letters and communications official or otherwise.³ We find it written on the title pages of

1. Ain, i, p. 157.

2. Badaoni, ii, p. 308.

3. " , p. 338.

books written after this date by the court writers.

No one has explained so far why this phrase was given so much importance and currency. No contemporary of Akbar cared to point out its significance. The matter is further confused because Akbar ^{had} liked it ~~for~~ ^{as} the legend on his Royal seal and coins a few years before in 1577.

1579

A hypothesis may be offered. Akbar had begun to think himself the 'Prophet of the age', but he ~~had~~ not dared to express it. Neither was it ever done in spoken words or on paper. Sometime back, in 1579, his favourites had begun to repeat within the palace the words: 'There is no god but God and Akbar is the Caliph of God'. The word 'Caliph of God' was adopted, which was in use for Muslim rulers. Still it resembled too much the Muslim Confession of Faith, which reads: 'There is no god but God and Mohammad is the Prophet of God', and had led to the Insurrection of 1579-81. Akbar wanted no repetition of this. Hence we do not hear of it, when the New Religion was formally enunciated on the New Year day in March, 1582.

But Akbar's religion must have a 'Confession of faith' and a declaration of his ministry. I think it was found in the words 'Allah o Akbar'. Some years before, when Akbar wanted it to be the legend of his seal and coins, he

مقصود ما مناسبه لفظی است - به اثنای ۲۲-۲۱۰۴



نت -

liked it, as he himself pointed out,¹ because the word 'Akbar' was therein, although just as an adjective to God and not standing for Akbar, the Emperor. This time the phrase had acquired a new significance. It was not being taken as 'God is Akbar (Great)' or 'Akbar (the Emperor) is God' but as 'God - Akbar (the Emperor)'. "God and Akbar" - that was the confession and declaration. Besides God and Akbar, none was of any account. It was tantamount to saying: There is no god but God and Akbar is the Prophet of God. But the phrase had the advantage of saying nothing about Akbar in so many words and had also the simple meaning of 'God is Great'.

1579 The preceding hypothesis is ~~been~~ suggested by the fact that it had already become the usual practice of the court-writers not to pay customary respects to the Prophet of Islam after the Praise of God and before the panegyric of the ruling prince, in introducing their books. The writers, after the Praise of God, went directly on to the Royal eulogy. The respects due to the Prophet were omitted.² Books of writers like Faizi still exist with this qualification, supporting today what Badaoni wrote more than three hundred years ago.

The Emperor called this new trend in beliefs and practices as Toheede Ilahi or the Monotheism.³

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 210.

2. " , p. 269.

3. " , p. 325.

Besides the cavalry organised under the 'umara', commanding various number of soldiers, the Mughal Emperors had an army of retainers directly under them. These gentlemen troopers served the emperor in an individual capacity. None of them had any one else under him. They
1583 were called 'yakas' i.e. singles, ~~none~~. The Emperor gave them the name of the 'Ahadis' i.e. monotheists.¹

At the festival of Noroze this year, Akbar declared
1582 thousands of his slave-soldiers to be free and named them as 'Chellas' which meant disciples in the term of 'jogis'.²

Personal slaves and personal retainers were to form the nucleus of the following of the New Prophet.

Thus was enunciated among the festivities of the Noroze Din-eIlabi Akbar Shahi.

And this is how a candidate was initiated into the Order. The man would take off his turban from his head and keeping it on the palm of his hand would place his head on the sacred feet of the Holy Emperor. After sometime the 'Lord of the Form and Meaning' would raise him up and place his turban on his head.³

This is explained this ritual by the vice-gerent of the New Prophet, Abu-lFazl. The initiate had taken off

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 326.

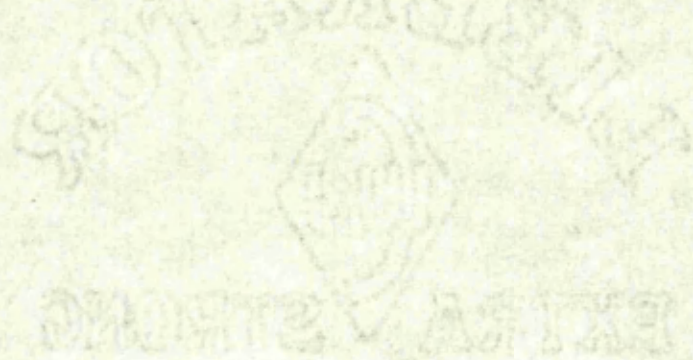
2. AulF, iii, pp. 379-80.
Badaoni, ii, p. 325.

3. Ain, i, p. 160.

کہ برد "اسم اعظم و طلسم اقدس" : "اللہ اکبر" نشر کر رہا ہے۔

آئینِ اربعی - ۱۲ - ۴ - ۱۹۰

شہتِ پاک و نظرِ پاکِ خلافتِ محمد - آئینِ اربعی - ۱۲ - ۴ - ۱۹۰



his turban from his head to declare that by virtue of his good fortune and auspicious stars, he had shed egoistic self-adoration and self-importance from his head and by placing his head upon the feet of the Royal saint he had pronounced that he was offering the sacrifice of his head in search of the Real Life. By raising him up the Jagat Guru had as if declared, "The brave man, raise up^{yourself} with my support and from the existence-like non-existence come into the Real existence".¹

Then the novice was given the 'shist', on which was written the "Great Name (of God) and the Divine Magic (or the Heavenly Mystery)", "Allah o Akbar" and he was instructed that " 'the Holy Shist' and the Holy glance (of the Royal Prophet) would not err (in guiding him).² "

After their initiation, whenever the disciples met each other, one was to shout, "Allah o Akbar", "God is Great", and the other in response, "Jall-e-Jalal-hoo", "Great is His Jalal (Glory)".³ Whether the word 'Jalal', meaning glory, was being taken as His or God's glory or it was for the Emperor himself, whose another name was Jalal (Jalal-udDin), is not certain. The fact is that the ambiguous phrases were being used and the 'Secrets' being

1. Ain, i, p. 160.

2. " , p. 160.

3. " , p. 160.

شعبه فاضله - آئين ايراني - جلد ۱ - ۱۴۰۴

created.

The question of the 'shist' has also remained an enigma. Abu-lFazl says that a 'shist' was given, but does not explain what it was. Badaoni, on the other hand, tells us that a small portrait of the Emperor was given to the disciples at the time of initiation¹ and nowhere mentions any 'shist'. The result is that Smith has been led to the conclusion that a 'shist' as well as a small portrait of the Emperor was given to the disciples and is at a loss to explain the former.²

Actually the 'shist' and the portrait were one and the same thing. It was the same small portrait of the Emperor on which were written the words 'Allah o Akbar'. This conclusion may be drawn from the fact that Badaoni mentions a small portrait and Abu-lFazl a shist, given at the time of initiation. But there is a significant adjective in the text of the Ain. When Abu-lFazl writes about the 'shist', he says that a "personal (the Emperor's) shist"³ was given. If we read this with Badaoni, the explanation is clear.

Abu-lFazl conveys the impression that the Name of God on the shist would guide the initiate. Now if it turns out

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 338.

2. Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, pp. 217-18.

3. Ain, i, p. 160.

to be a portrait of the Emperor, in what way would it guide the disciple? The answer is not far to seek, if we remember the Ibadatkhana discussions.

The idols of men like gods such as Ram and Krishan were explained to be the symbols of God. The images of the Holy Virgin and Christ also formed the symbols of God. All of them had been said to lead men towards God. According to some of the 'Bafis' also, disciples should first think of the image of their Murshad (the Guiding-saint) before they began to think of God. From the concentration on an image in imagination, the change to an image on paper was not a very long step.

The Holy image of the Emperor, the emblem of sincerity and an introduction to guidance and felicity, was placed in a silken casement, studded with pearls and jewels, and kept within their turbans by the Royal disciples.¹

The talk about the real-existence and the existence-like non-existence might have been, ^{was to some} ~~to an~~ extent², the contribution of the Jesuits. According to the Christian doctrine, man acquires life only when he is baptised.

1. Badaoni, ii, p. 338.

There were four grades of sincerity for Akbar's disciples, foregoing (i) one's wealth, (ii) wealth and life, (iii) wealth, life and honour and (iv) wealth, life, honour and religion.¹ It shows that there could be disciples retaining something of their own religion. It was in the final stage that they discarded their previous religion, explained as "nothing but mimicing the people of the past",² and adopted the religious beliefs and practices of the "Lord of Mysteries", "knowing the real meanings behind the words." The disciples were thus to approach closest to their lord by stages.

Some of the most anxious to secure royal favours would sign a document saying "Myself so and so, son of so and so, of my own accord and with love of heart abandon the outward Islam which I inherited from my father and forefathers and enter into Din-e Ilahi of Akbarshah, adopting all the four grades of sincerity, sacrificing my wealth, my life, my honour and my religion." And these 'writs to damnation' were handed over to Abu-l Fazl, the High Priest of the New Religion.³

Akbar named his religion as the 'Monotheism', but

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.291.
 2. Badaoni, ii, p.272.
 3. Badaoni, ii, p.304-305.

actually he accepted, if not two, definitely one Divine Rival. Fire seems to have been worshipped by him as an inanimate symbol of God. But to the Sun were certainly attributed ~~xxx~~ superlative traits of a Living God.¹

The favourite writers in the Court whenever naming Sun in their writings would add "Great is His Glory," as was the custom in the case of God Himself.²

The Zoroastrian and Hindu influences had merged in this respect. During the Noroze Festival the Emperor
1580 would openly worship and prostrate before Fire - the Sign out of the Signs of God, the Light out of the Lights of God.³

When one of the most favourite and sincerest disciples
1584 died, a fire-amber was said to have been placed upon his tongue at the time of burial.⁴

The Sun was acknowledged as the 'Expression of God',
The the Ripener of cereals and fruit, the Grower of trees and
Sun-Worship. verge, the Light-giver and the Life-giver of the world.⁵

It was due to his entry into Aries in March (coming into the new life of the Spring after the death of winter) that the Day of Noroze was sanctified⁶ and made the occasion of

1. Badaoni, ii p. 260.

2. " ii, p. 404

3. " ii, p. 261.

4. " ii, p. 341.

5. " ii, p. 260.

6. " ii, p. 260.

the spectacular festivities rivalling those of ancient Egypt, Greece or Rome or Persia. The Emperor publicly worshipped and prostrated before the Sun during these festivities.¹

Akbar used also to worship the sun on every day in the morning, in the evening, at midday and at midnight. At midday worship, he would repeat in Hindi one thousand and one names and epithets of the Golden god, ^{and} would catch hold of both of his ears, ~~would turn somersaults, would~~ ^{and} administer blows on his ear edges and go through many other similar ^{acts} ~~antics~~,² - all mysteries known to him and the 'wily pandits'.

At midnight and daybreak drums were beaten in honour of the advent of the Resplendent Emperor of the Heavens.³

No animal was allowed to be slaughtered on Sunday - the 'Day of Sun'.⁴ When the people would bring cups of water to the Emperor so that he might blow on the water to give it healing qualities, he would hold it up to the sun also.⁵

The day breaks and the Sun God appears in the East. The East was to be honoured, therefore. Akbar began to

1. Badaoni, ii, p.261.

2. " ii, p.322

3. " ii, p.322.

4. " ii, p.321-322.

5. Ain " i, p.159.

sleep with his head towards the East and feet towards the West - the Kaba side! ¹ Similarly the Royal disciples, 1587 on their death, were to be buried with their head towards the East and feet towards the West. ² When one of the 1584 closest disciples died, at the time of burial there was left an opening in his grave towards the East, so that the 'sin-wiping' light of the Sun might fall on his face every morning. ³ Until a writ from the authorities of the State Treasury regarding the loans from the State was acquired, a dead man was not allowed to be buried. Meanwhile 1594 his body was ordered to be kept in the graveyard on the eastern side of the City. This was also done in honour of Sun, the Lord of the East. ⁴

Birbar was killed in the Afghan hills in 1586 when the Mughal army was retreating. Akbar was sorry that he could not be 'purified in fire' at his death. Then he ~~could~~ consoled himself, saying, "He did not need this 1586 purification; the heat of the Great Resplendent was sufficient to do this for him." ⁵

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.357.
 2. " p. 356-57.
 3. " p. 340-341.
 4. " p. 391.
 5. " p.351.

The Zoroastrian influence is evident in connection with some funeral rites as well. The Hindu disciples, 1594 male as well as female, called Darshanyas, were ordered, on their death to be drowned in a river, with a quantity of cereal and a brick bound round their necks. If there was no river nearby, they were to be burnt or hung from a tree,¹ - certainly to be eaten away by birds like vultures as was and is the custom of Parsees.

Regarding the respect shown to fire and light the Zoroastrian influence reached niceties. When the lights 1580 were lit in the court at dusk, the courtiers would stand up in honour of the little flames² which had appeared to officiate for the Great God Sun.

Akbar became fond of everything related to the Chosores. He seems to have liked their names also. He christened the first-born of his eldest son as Khusro (Chosroe) and that of his second son as Rustam. To his three other grandsons he gave the names of Parvez, Tehmoras and Hoshing.^{1 3}

1. Badaoni, ii, p.391.

2. " p. 261.

3. AulF, iii, pp.524, 529, 569, 826, 837.

i Khusro (b.1587), Son of Prince Salim.
Rustam (b.1588), Son of Prince Murad.
Parvez (b.1589), Son of Prince Salim.
Tehmoras (b.1591), Son of Prince Salim.

His name is also Persian, though not of the Chosroes
Hoshing (b.1604), Son of Prince Danyal.
Tehmoras, Son of Prince Danyal.

If one is born a Hindu, he may worship whichever god he likes, he still remains a Hindu. Thus thousands of Hindus at the Capital became Akbar's disciples. The 'crafty Brahmans' would explain that Akbar was also an 'Avatar' (incarnation) of the Parm Atma (the Supreme Soul - God) like Ram, Krishan and the rest, and stringed together one thousand and one names of the Akbar-Avatar for repetition. These disciples would gather in hundreds under the audience balcony (jharoka) every morning to have a glimpse of the Divine Face. They would not take or drink anything or begin their day's work unless they had a look ('darshan') on their God-in-the-Form-of-Akbar.¹ That is why they became known as 'Darshanyas' or the People of the Glimpse.

Every morning they would repeat one thousand and one names of the Akbar-Avatar and await outside, while the Emperor would worship Suryadev¹ and repeat his one thousand and one names within the palace. When the Emperor had finished his devotions he would appear on the balcony. As soon as he came into the sight of the Darshanyas, they fell upon their knees.² Thousands of men - in abject prostration before Akbar!

1. Badaoni, ii, pp.325-26.

2. " p. 326.

i. In the pagan Mongol religion of Chingez Khan and his forefathers, Sun was the ruling deity ~~and the~~

i (contd)

and the ruling prince was believed to be the son of Sun. It may be that this ancestral religion was in part responsible for this sun worship and the Mughal conception of Kingship. Akbar could not be unaware of the history and religion of his great forefather, of whom all the Mughal Emperors were so proud. 'Tura' of Chingez Khan, the code of his laws, was usually read out to them. It still enjoyed authority. Akbar's marriage with the wife of Abdul Waseh was not according to the Quran of Mohammed, but according to the Tura of Chingez.^x In Akbar's court the Sun was being said to be the 'Supporter of Kings' the 'Patronizer of Kings', the 'Preserver of Kings' and 'Kings were to glorify him.'^{xx} There is not much difference between the 'Father of Kings' and the 'Preserver of Kings' or the 'Son of Sun' and the 'protege of Sun'.

~~And whether the king was the son of the Sun-god or not~~ this historical fact cannot be denied that the Mughals throughout were regarded as if having some Divine Right to sit on the throne. The powerful men like Sayyad Abdullah or Sayyad Hussain, Ghias-udDin or Ghulam Qadir Rohilla, would not dare to occupy the throne themselves and give rise to another powerful muslim dynasty. They would instead drag some poor fellow like Rafih-udDola or Rafih-udDarjat from the Royal prison fort of Salimgadh and place him on the throne or after having blinded and imprisoned the ruling prince and not finding some capable Mughal prince for the throne, were in a fix what to do next, as happened in the case of Ghulam Qadir. Mughal rule in India was the rule of a dynasty. Muslim rule under the Sultans of Delhi^{xxx} was the rule of a nation - more in the tradition of the Islamic ideal, where there was nothing tantamount to a Divine Right of Kingship.

A slave succeeds an Emperor. An Emperor's son is ousted by the nobles to make room for another capable slave. A plebeian like Ghazi Malak is placed on the throne of an Emperor like Ala-ud Din. A Sayyad, a descendant of the Prophet, abdicates in the favour of a Lodhi pathan. It was a survival of the fittest, rather than the Mughal survival of the puppets.

of Delhi was generally such better than that of many communities in Europe whose faith differed from that of their rulers.
(Sri Ram Sharma. The Religious policy of the Mughal Emperors, p. 8.)

No one in history enjoyed greater deification and Akbar wished to be a great Emperor even after his death.

1579

He had begun to believe in the doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls and considered it impossible¹ for the soul to exist without a body.

1583

He also believed, as 'the all-knowing Brahmans' explained to him, that the soul of a perfect man departed through the crown of his head, the tenth opening of the body, with a thundering noise which was proof of one's salvation and the sign of his soul entering into the body of some magnificent Emperor. That is why Akbar had the crown of his head shaved and let his hair grow at the sides.²

1582

The Transmigration of Souls was an important doctrine of Akbar's cult, explaining life after death and reward and punishment for one's deeds hereafter, which was adopted from Hinduism. But the influence of association with Hindus was far wider. The Emperor had discarded taking onion, garlic and beef, the last named being abhorrent to Hindus.³ The cow was very

1. Badaoni, ii. p.273.

2. " ii, p.325.

3. " ii. p.303.

sacred to them, because it was, as the Brahmans would explain in public, so useful for agriculture and dairy products, providing subsistence for human life.

The
Command-
ments
of the
'Royal
Prophet'.

1591

Akbar prohibited taking beef for his disciples, not for muslims in general, as he is usually accused of. After some time he extended the injunction prohibiting also the meat of the buffalo, sheep, horse and camel.¹

The meat of an animal was said to convey its characteristics. The Emperor said, "The meat of the tiger and the wild boar should have been permissible, so that their courage might be transmitted to man."² Akbar was not adding meat dishes, so repulsive to muslims, as this remark has generally been interpreted, but merely giving an opinion.

The Emperor had rather begun to dislike meat and refrained from it for many days a month. He considered this abstention from physical pleasure as a mortification of his ego, and yielding spiritual elevation.³

1583

Soon this abstention was extended to more than six months a year and the Emperor intended to forego this pleasure entirely. The days of abstention included the

1. Badaoni, ii, pp. 303, 375-76.

2. " ii, p. 306.

3. " ii, p. 322.

Sun's days. (Badaoni clearly brings out Sunday as the day of Sun), the day of Noroze and the following seventeen days, the first day of every solar month, the days of eclipse, the days of monthly festivals, the whole of the month in which the Emperor was born, extending into the next making the whole span of ¹ as many days as years of life had been completed by the Emperor.

The Royal disciples were also admonished to try their utmost to abstain from meat. They were ordered not to take meat throughout the month of their birth and not to eat what they had themselves hunted.²

Animal slaughter was prohibited, throughout the empire, under severe punishments, on many of the days when the Emperor did not take meat, including the extraordinarily long period connected with the birth of the Emperor Akbar.³ Muslims, of course, must have smarted under this prolonged restriction.

Some writers, like Vincent Smith,^{have} explained Akbar's abstention from meat and prohibition of animal slaughter on various days as due to Jain influence,⁴ as the Jains

1. Badaoni, ii, pp.321-22.
Ain, i, p. 59.

2. Ain, i, p.161.

3. Badaoni, ii, p.322.

4. Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogal, p.166.

were the exponents of the sacredness of life in any form. Their saints would keep their mouths covered with cloth, so that even a tiny moth might not be destroyed by entering. Abu-lFazl also says that it was due to the compassionate heartedness of the Emperor. But Badaoni clearly says that Akbar did it as an ascetic practice, in respect of Hindu sentiments, in honour of the Sun and various astronomical positions, and in sanctification¹ of his own birth. Only this much Jain influence might be conceded that Akbar honoured the Sun-god by stopping slaughter instead of offering bloody sacrifices. Akbar would not eat animals. But killing them in the hunt and even men in wars remained a fair game for him.

If we accept Smith's view how do we explain the wholesale slaughter of thousands of animals in Akbar's Qamurgha Hunts throughout his career? It is a poor apology to put forward political reasons or talk of the dual personality of Akbar.

From Akbar's diet, I come to his mode of apparel and other practices, in which Hindu influence is manifest.

Akbar had begun to shave his beard and liked it thus. All of his favourite courtiers followed him in this respect

1. Ain, i, p.161.
Badaoni, ii, p.322.

and it had become the symbol of love and devotion to
the Emperor.¹

On the death of a disciple's parents, the moustaches,
head and eyebrows were also to be shaved, as Akbar himself²
did when his mother and when his foster-mother died.

The silk dress and gold jewellery Islam reserved
for the fairer sex. The mans' share was the sword and
the soldier's life. But Akbar, like Hindu Rajas, gave¹
vogue to these adornments for men. Even the Muftis³
of the new regime luxuriated in them.

1580 Akbar began to have also a 'tilak', a 'qashqa' or⁴
the sacred Hindu mark on his forehead. What mysterious
efficacy of this red or yellow smudge on the forehead
was explained to him is not known.

The Prophet of Islam prohibited the making of images
of man or animals of any kind, as they had all been
worshipped at one time. The Egyptian religion had been

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.303.
 2. AulF, iii, pp. 771, 831.
 3. Badaoni, ii, p.306.
 4. " p.261, 322.

i. Mufties - ulama.

full of animal worship - Bulls and Rams, Dogheaded Baboons and Cats - Cobra hoods and vulture heads - and because there was still chance for human thought to relapse into ancient paganism.¹ but Akbar encouraged painting and portraiture arguing that it led to the glorification of God and the realisation of the helplessness of man. He could draw and paint but he¹ could not make his pictures come alive.

1591 The Emperor now also liked Hindu names such as
dashotan which he gave to the grandson of Abu-lFuzl, his
spiritual vice-gerent..²

1580 The Hindu Festival of Rakhi was celebrated in the
court and the Brahmans would come and tie the sacred string
round the wrist of the Emperor.³ Similarly the Hindu
1592-93 Festivals of Dusehra and Devali were celebrated with great
rejoicing.⁴

1583 On the occasion of the Shivrati - the Night of Shiva -
the Emperor would attend the assemblies of the 'jogis'.

-
1. Ain, i, p.117.
 2. AulF,iii, p.596.
 3. Badaoni, ii,p.261-62.
 4. AulF, iii, pp.626, 646.

¹ As Christians especially did it when the art developed. God ceased to be worshipped without bowing before the image of Christ on ^{the} Cross, or that of the Holy Virgin and the Child.

He would listen to their mystic talk and eat and drink
1582 / with them.¹ Akbar instructed his disciples to give
a feast, for the spiritual peace of their soul after
death, in their lifetime, on the day of their every
birthday.²

Usury was put an end to by the Prophet of Islam.
It had made a section of society useless to the community.
They would get money without work - unproductive hands.
Jews were the worst exponents of this institution. But
1584 Akbar, like the Hindus, legalised it and his Imperial
Treasury charged interest upon ~~help~~ loans proffered to
various nobles. It became a source of state income.³

A very regrettable addition ^{to} ~~in~~ the judicial
administration was also the result of Hindu and perhaps
1587 also Christian influence.- Akbar introduced trial by ordeal.
The accused was to hold a red hot bar of iron in his hand
or to dip his hand in the boiling oil. If his hand was
burnt, he was 'proven guilty'. Another method for the
accused to prove his innocence was to dive in water and
keep under the surface till an arrow ^{flung} from a bow was
carried back by someone.⁴ Akbar's belief in super-natural

1. Badaoni, ii. pp.324-25.

2. Ain, i, p.161.
Badaoni, ii, pp.305-306.

3. Badaoni, ii, p.338.
Ain, i, pp.196-97.

4. Badaoni, ii, p.356.

intervention here betrayed him, for one wonders to find an administrator like Akbar replacing justice by chance or condemnation without trial. How far this method was actually put into practice by the newly appointed Brahman judges for Hindus is not known. Certainly the dominantly muslim personnel of the Judicial administration - Qazis throughout the Empire - never adopted it. Neither was it meant for them. The Islamic law does not recognise this barbarity.

1582 The dog, wild boar or pig were unclean to the Prophet of Islam and hence for muslims. Akbar liked them. The dog because of its fidelity. But the wild boar because Brahmans explained to him that once God Almighty descended on the earth in the form of a Wild Boar,ⁱ in the 'Avatar' of Vishnu Bhagwan.ⁱⁱ The Emperor was, for some time at least, in the habit of taking early in the morning, a look upon a wild boar - once the Form of God Himself.¹

1. Badaoni, ii. p.305.

ⁱ Actually in the form of a human body with four or six hands and the head of a wild boar.

ⁱⁱ One of the Hindu Trinity: Brahma, the Creator, Shiva, the Preserver and Vishnu, the Destroyer. This Trinity is much confused.

The inhuman doctrine of untouchability also did not fail to touch the Emperor. Akbar, according to Abu-lFazl, ordered his disciples not to dine with butchers, fishermen or bird-catchers. Badaoni goes to the extent of saying
1591 that whomsoever would dine with a butcher was to lose his hand as punishment and one who dined with a butcher's
relatives was to lose his first finger.¹

The Emperor prohibited people in the lower strata of
1587 society from acquiring knowledge. Orders to this effect were issued to the government officials in cities. Because
knowledge made them mischievous!² And Mohammad - by contrast we may recall - had ordered every Muslim, man and woman, to acquire knowledge and go to seek it even in distant lands. There were no such spiritual strata of society. There was to be no monopoly by the priest. No one was to hold the Keys of Heaven. There was none between God and man. The word of God was for everyman, for the sweeper and the sovereign alike.

So much we may attribute to Hindu and Zoroastrian influence. But Akbar's imagination was still thirsty for unknown wonders, still in search of something strange and foreign and romantic. At least a little more was supplied from overseas.

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.376.
Ain, i, p.161.
 2. Badaoni, ii, p.356.

Three missions of Jesuits from Portugese Goa were received at Court and their endless efforts were not without fruit. Akbar adopted the worship of the Images of the Trinity. A Royal Chapel of canvas was set up. The Images were placed on the altar. The gongs would toll and Akbar would kneel before the Holy Images ^{1.} with fervour no less than that of an Ignatius Loyola.

Now I turn to those regulations of Akbar's cult which touched life more intimately.

A man was not to marry his first cousin, not on any scientific ground, but because such a close relationship - due to familiarity perhaps - did not excite the highest passion ^{2.} which was considered so necessary in conceiving healthy children.

Here a Hindu influence is to be seen. They do not marry even a distant cousin - nor even anyone belonging to the subcastes of father and mother and some other.

1. Badaoni, ii, p.304, 338.

2. Badaoni, ii, p.306
Ain, i, p.201

1587 A widow or still unmarried woman, who had reached¹
the menopause was not to marry a man.

1594 If the wife was twelve years senior to him, the²
husband was not to mate with her.

 A man was not to cohabit with a pregnant, old or³
barren woman, or with very young girls (unable to produce
children easily).

1591 A boy was not to be circumcised till he was twelve
years of age and even at that time he was free to have⁴
it or reject it.

 Hindus must have emphasized its uselessness, because
they themselves did not do it.

 One of the most unfortunate events in human history
has been that Christ had not married before his crucifixion.
Consequently Christian Saints and the early Fathers, who
actually formulated Christianity, as a reaction against
the licence of the existing religions, made celibacy the
highest ideal of human life. The woman was declared to
be 'the temptress', the 'tool of Devil'. Mohammad raised
woman to her rightful place. She was declared the 'Queen
of man's heart and home', the 'fragrance of life'. She

1. Badaoni, ii, p.356.

2. " p.391.

3. Ain, i, p.161.

4. Badaoni, ii, p.376.

was given the right of acceptance or rejection of her would-be husband at the time of marriage, the privilege of inheritance and securing separation, if she did not want to live with her husband any longer.

Mohammad's ministry was the greatest revolution in human thought since Christ declared the Kingdom of God, in which there were no slaves and no Estates. The Caesars saw their mighty empire crumbling to pieces before the force of the new thought and tried as if they could smother his Immortal Word by nailing him on the Cross and degrading him by gibbeting beside thieves. Glorified is the memory of even those two thieves. Mohammad raised woman to her right^{ful} place, but one of the aspects of his great revolution was that sex was completely secularized.

1582 Akbar was again sanctifying it. Mohammad asked a husband and wife to take a bath in the morning after their night together - for the sake of cleanliness. Akbar abolished this and argued, "How is it that the discharge of such a pure thing, as semen, that has been the cause of the birth of so many saints and pious men, should make us unclean. It behoves rather bathing and purifying oneself before coitus."¹

Whence came this idea? Perhaps from Hinduism where

1. Badaoni, ii, p.305.

Puranic literature is full of instructions to anoint oneself with butter before coitus and where 'Shivlingam', the stone Phelie of Shiva, is anointed with Holy Water and garlanded with flowers in temples day and night. In later literature various positions (asans) recommended for the sexual act are the same as those of worship and meditation.

Sex was being sanctified, because of procreation as is clear from the argument proffered in support of bathing before coitus and from the instructions regarding sex life enumerated above.

Otherwise individual love was not being recognised.

Hinduism was not a missionary religion. One was a Hindu because one was born a Hindu. A Hindu was not allowed to marry a non-Hindu. If a Hindu and a Muslim of opposite sexes fell in love, the obvious way out, therefore, was that the former would become muslim and they would marry. Akbar prohibited such marriages. The lovers were not let together. ¹ They were forcibly separated by the agents of law.

1594

A man was not to have more than one wife except ² where the first one proved barren.

1587

1. Badaoni, ii, pp.391-92.

2. Badaoni, ii, p.356
Ain, i, p.201.

Akbar prohibited the marriage of girls under
1584 fourteen and boys under sixteen. He also prohibited
marriages between the young and the old. This regulation
was actually enforced by the State and Tavi Begis or
1594 the Supervisors of marriages were appointed. No couple
could marry unless they had appeared in person before
the authorities, had been examined personally by them and a
certificate of age had been issued for marriage.¹

Hindu widows were allowed to remarry, if they liked.
1587 No one was to force them otherwise.²

Hindu widows were not to be compelled to ^{undergo} 'sati'
1591 themselves.³

Hindu girls who had been married in childhood and
1587 their husbands died before the consummation of marriage,
were prohibited from ^{undergoing 'sati'} ~~being 'sati'~~.⁴

Akbar encouraged the study of literary and scientific
1582 subjects, like astronomy, mathematics, medicine, philosophy,
1587 history, poetry and romance.⁵

-
1. Badaoni, ii, pp.338, 39.
Ain, i, p.201.
 2. Badaoni, ii, p.356.
 3. " ii, p.376.
 4. " ii, p.356.
 5. " ii, pp.306-307, 363.

1594 The parents, who sold their children as slaves under straitened circumstances, were given the right of buying them back, whenever they could afford to.¹

1587 A certain portion of legal cases between Hindus were to be decided by a wise Brahman instead of a Qazi.²

1594 If a Hindu had been converted to Islam in childhood or by force, he was permitted to re-convert, ^{to his previous religion} if he liked.

1594 The building of churches, fire-temples and idol-temples, was permitted.⁴

1594 Conversion from one religion to another was universally allowed.⁵

1584 ~~The~~ Games of chance had been prohibited by Islam and it was one of the duties of 'Mohtasibs', officials of 'Hisba' (a section of ^{the} police) to check gambling, ~~like~~ prostitution, ^{false} brewing, weights and measures, etc. Akbar legalised it and a Gambling Section was set up in the Court. The Courtiers could borrow money - at interest - on the spot for the purpose, if they were or became short of it, from the Royal Treasury.⁶

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.391.
 2. " ii, p.356.
 3. " ii, p.391.
 4. " ii, p.392.
 5. " ii, p.391.
 6. " ii, p.338.

Prostitution has existed in every age and in every country. Muslim countries were not an exception, though Islam had prohibited it and made it a state crime. The State had to suffer it, the nature of man being what it is.

1582 But Akbar dropped it from the list of crimes against the State. Whomsoever liked, could go to a prostitute after giving his name and address to the State official in charge of the prostitution quarter. Every one was allowed to bring a prostitute to his house for the night¹ on the same condition.

The flirts and the shrews were told to go to this quarter of the city and ~~traffic in themselves.~~^{conduct their business.}²

For the courtiers there was one restriction. If any one of them wanted to have a girl who had not cohabited with anyone so far, he had to apply for permission to the Emperor, through the official in charge of the quarter. Otherwise they were severely reprimanded and sent to prison. One of those who were detected in this affair was the Royal Prophets' own Deputy High Priest, Raja Birbar, who had taken all the four oaths of fidelity to obey his Guru. He was away from the court when the secret came

1. Badaoni, ii, p.302.

2. " p.391.

در دور پادشاهِ خلافتش و عجم پویش
ناصری قزاق کشیده و مفتی بیایه نویش!

آرنامہ ج. ۳۰-۳۱

۹۸

out. When he learnt of the disclosure, he made up¹ his mind to become a recluse ~~and disappear~~ and disappear.

Intoxicants were prohibited by Islam. In spite of it liquor continued in all muslim countries to be the luxury of the princes and the rich and those who liked and could afford it. This crime against the State was usually connived at. Still the religious prohibition was a mental hindrance to full enjoyment. Daqiqi, the well known poet of Persia, fervently desires the 'Mazhab-e Zardhashti', the Religion of Zoroaster, when he pines for wine, because it was not prohibited in that religion.

1582 In Akbar's cult liquor was allowed, though ~~drunkenness~~^{drunkenness} ~~drunkardness~~² was prohibited and was severely dealt with. Even the Qazis and Muftis of the new regime, like Mir Sadar Jahan, Mufti of the Empire, and Mir Abd-ul Hayy, Mir-e Adl or Qazi, would ask for goblets - not empty - to please the Emperor and he, the "Lord of the world", sipping the wisdom-increasing wine would repeat the verse:

In the reign of the Padshah, who connives at shortcomings and forgives crimes, Muftis are drinking from cups and Qazis have lifted decanters to their lips.³

-
1. Badaoni, ii, p.303.
 2. " p.301.
 3. " p.309.
AulF, iii, p.582.

of the
Most/regulations enumerated in the above sectionⁱ
were not for Akbar's disciples only, they were of general
application.

The
Abolition
of
the Jizia.

Another outcome of Akbar's policy was the abolition
of Jizia. ~~The polltax, called~~
~~A tax named Jizia, paid in lieu for exemption~~
~~from military service~~ was already in vogue in the Persian
Empire of Chosroes before the advent of Islam, ~~The very~~ ^{and the soldiers}
~~were exempted from its payment.~~
~~word 'Jizia', though it occurs in the Quran, is not of~~
~~Arabic origin.~~

When Muslim power expanded, ~~they levies~~ this tax ~~was levie~~
upon their non-muslim subjects, offering in return security
of life and property, toleration of their religions and
houses of worship, ~~xxx~~ churches, synagogues etc. and
exemption from military service. The women, the children
and the old were not taxed as they were incapable of
military service. Only the adult had to pay this tax
at the rate of 12 dirhams ~~or Rs.3., As.2,~~ once a year for
the lower classes, 24 dirhams for the middle and 48 dirhams
for the rich holding property worth more than 10,000 dirhams,
payable in one, two or four instalments. It was not a
crushing burden, as some writers have maintained. A tax
instead of military service was not unknown in Europe.
Edward I of England collected Shield money. Islam for
the first time in history presented to the world religious

ⁱ pp.195 (From 'The Hindu-Muslim marriages')
to p.199.

toleration at this simple charge, and this mostly due to the military cost, because Muslims well appreciated the value of the nationalized military power. Napoleon failed when his forces failed in this qualification. The British power in India was based upon the absence of national and political consciousness and as soon as it had developed Indians were to be found fighting against the British and beside the Japanese. The Rajputs began to rebel against the Mughals as soon as the Muslim forces weakened.

The payment of Jizia in return for the security of life and freedom in religion was not taken as persecution by the Christians or others at the time of the Muslim conquest, but as the most welcome alternative to religious persecution. I may quote one illustration. The invincible Khalid was fighting on the Western front against the Byzantine Power in Syria. The city of Hims had been occupied. Due to some strategic reason, he decided to leave the city. He called in the Bishop of Hims and returned to him the proceeds of the Jizia collected from the Christians, explaining that as Muslims were not in a position to guarantee the promised security throughout the year, the tax collected had to be returned to the taxpayers. The Muslims left and the Christians

closed the gates of the City. Bidding farewell, the Bishop added, "We shall pray in our churches for your return. may we open the gates of our City upon you again and not upon the Byzantines." Because Christians in Syria were being persecuted by the Byzantine Christians on sectarian grounds. Similar was the woeful tale of the Christians of Egypt. The Jizia collecting Muslims were not the religious persecutors but the liberators of the persecuted on religious grounds.

And if non-Muslims would render military help, they were not to pay the tax of Jizia. Certain Christians, during the muslim military operations in Syria and Palestine, rendered valuable help to muslims. It was taken as active military service by the Caliph, Omar, the Just, and they were exempted from the payment of Jizia.

Hence when Rajputs and other Hindus were rendering valuable military service to Akbar and he abolished Jizia, it was not something revolutionary.

Another point, when the Muslim's conquered and occupied Persia, Syria, Egypt and other countries, agricultural classes were not ejected from the lands they were holding. By law the land belonged to the conquering people. Omar acknowledged their rights,

but his wisdom saved millions from destruction. Muslims were not allowed to eject the previous holders and possess the land. The revenue from these lands was instead made the communal property. Each would receive a stipend from this income. The non-muslims were given the right of permanent occupation of the land in return for the payment of the land revenue, called Khiraj.ⁱ The Khiraj-paying subjects did not pay Jizia, because it was as if inclusive of that tax. The Jizia was paid mostly by the urban population.

i

How Muslims too came to pay Khiraj may be explained.

Muslims had to pay a levy called 'ushar', on land produce. It was a tax, one tenth of the produce, while 'Khiraj' was a rental, one fourth or a bit more of the produce.

When big cities sprang up under the Muslim rule, industries and trade flourished, and labour was in demand there, it became profitable for the Kheraji tillers of land to leave the plough and come to the cities. The Muslims were pleased to buy their lands. But they were not particularly interested in agriculture. Moreover, they would pay only 'ushar' instead of the 'Khiraj'. The Khiraji tillers of land began to migrate to cities. The whole economic structure seemed to break down.

Hajjaj, the famous viceroy of the East - Mesopotamia, Persia, Turkistan and Sind - dealt with the situation in his characteristic ruthless, though efficient, manner. He declared that no tiller of land could leave his land. Severe punishments were enforced. Many of them were branded, so that no story could help them if they broke the law.

Later the Doctors of Law gave a ruling, safeguarding the State against the loss of revenue. According to it

(cont'd)

Akbar collected land revenue, at the rate of one third of the produce, which was the rate of Khiraj, with the utmost care not to miss a penny, and Khiraj was inclusive of the Jizia. Hence, legally, even after the abolition of Jizia, Hindus throughout India, excepting the fractional urban population of Hindus in the Mughal provinces, continued paying Jizia.

But Akbar abolished Jizia neither because he had no legal right to collect it from Hindus who were serving him on the battlefields, nor because the land revenue he collected was inclusive of it. It seems to me that the abolition of Jizia by Akbar has not been interpreted in its true perspective so far. Abu-lFazl writes that the Jizia

i (cont'd)

the State against the loss of revenue. According to it the Khiraji lands remained Khiraji even after passing into the hands of Muslims. The Muslim holders had to pay Khiraj and not 'ushar' for these lands. The underlying principle seems to be that the non-muslim original holders had no proprietary rights. They had only holding rights. The new Muslim occupants had, therefore, purchased rights of holding land, not the land itself, which was still the property of the State. Hence they had to pay the rental and not the tax. Thus after some time most of the land in Muslim hands was also Khiraji. In later centuries, as under the Mughals in India, the differentiation disappeared and the Muslim holders of land had to pay the same amount of land revenue.

But when the state collected Khiraj from the muslim they were being regularly paid, in cash or in jagirs, in the military service, while in the days of receiving lands on which they paid 'ushar' they formed the national forces which were not paid by the state.

امروز ... امانتد کیش دیگرانه چون بختان یک دین از ته دل کمر فرست "و عقیدت"

بر میان جان بسته در ارتقا سواران علیا مروت این تمام طارنه - چگونه این احمق بتاین را

که اسکرین بحضرت تسلیم است "و ارادت و عقیدت در آنها نه بر آن گروه

سابق که عداوت عالی در میان بود میانه نموده ... آیه - اگر نامه - ص ۲ - ۲۰۴ -

was abolished in the beginning of the year 1564¹ and every historian has accepted this statement at its face value without comparing it with the information in other sources or in the same source so tactfully camouflaged.

The reason Abu-lFazl gives for the abolition of Jizia in 1564 is as follows. "The Jizia was collected from non-Muslims in the past because muslims and non-muslims were enemies of each other. Now when the non-muslims are serving the State and have positive faith in the Emperor and their following their own religion is simply outward, it does not behove to collect it."² What he wants to convey is that the Jizia was collected from the non-muslims because they did not acknowledge their muslim ruler as their Spiritual head in the past, but now as they had acknowledged Akbar as such and their still following the outward practices of their own religion was immaterial, its collection had no justification. Essentially they were not the followers of a different religion. Being aware of the religious beliefs and practices of Akbar during the years following 1564, is it possible to believe that such an idea could have entered Akbar's head at this time? Even eleven years later, in 1575, as Badaoni

1. AulF ii, p.203.

2. " p.204.

و نیز باعث عمده برافزاینده در زمان پیش فوطه اصلی مستقیم و صادقانه بحال و اسباب
دیتری بوده تا به این روش در حال حاضر به این راه - اردو که برادران گنج در فرزند این مقام خیر جهان
به بد است چگونه منصف دانای تمیز حل بر گرفتن این سال بهتر -

اگر نام - ۲۲ - ۲۰۴۳

LIBERATOR
EXTRA STRONG

records, he was issuing orders for the assessment of Jizia upon Hindus.¹ Moreover, the second of the two arguments which Abu-lFazl gives, in favour of the abolition, runs, "The Jizia was collected in the past, because the rulers were poor and in need of money. Today when there are thousands of treasures in the Royal Treasury, the Emperor does not needⁱ to collect it."² Were there really ~~thousands of treasures~~^{hoards} in the Treasury of Akbar in the beginning of 1564, when his empire comprised less than two provinces?ⁱⁱ It is unlikely.

Badaoni, enumerating the heretic regulations of Akbar, tells us that the Jizia was abolished in the year 1579.³ Among the events of the same year Abu-lFazl writes that Akbar abolished the 'Baj' this year and adds that the orders to the same effect were issued earlier too, but

-
1. Badaoni, ii. p.210.
 2. AulF, ii, p.204.
 3. Badaoni, ii, p.276.

ⁱ Certainly Akbar who collected land revenue at the rate of 1/3 of the produce did not need the collection of Jizia. Had he limited himself to Islamic taxation, he would have surely needed it.

ⁱⁱ Panjab and most of the parts of the modern province of the U.P.

they had not proved effective.¹ The orders against the 'Baj' were being issued for the second time. But Abu-l Fazl does not refer to the abolition of 'Baj' anywhere previous to 1579.

But what was 'Baj'? When a muslim ruler ~~would~~ ^{ed} attack some non-muslim king and the war ended in a peace treaty rather than annexation, the latter had to pay an annual tribute. This tribute has sometime been named as 'Khiraj' and sometime as 'Jizia.' Perhaps a larger tribute was called 'Khiraj' and a smaller one 'Jizia'. Evidently the former from the badly defeated and the latter from a bit stronger opponent. The implied principle might have been that the land of one was legally lost though he and his subjects had the right of permanent occupation and the other, along with his people, had simply to pay the price of security from further muslim attack. Both of these kinds of tribute had the common name of 'the Baj'. Hence the 'Baj' meant Jizia or Khiraj. i.e. land revenue plus Jizia when paid in lump sum by the ruler of a state on behalf of his subjects. But did Akbar abolish the lump sum tributes ~~the Baj~~ i.e. Khiraj or Jizia, from the Hindu states? Apparently not. The 'Ain' is full of

1. Aulf, iii, pp.295-96.

the statistics of the land revenue, collected from every Hindu State, along with the number of the cavalry every Raja had to maintain for King's service. Then what sort of imposition did Akbar abolish in 1579? Presumably the individual 'Baj' i.e. Jizia.

Akbar might have issued orders against Jizia in some particular or local instance in 1564. Otherwise Nizam-ud Din Ahmad or Badaoni would not have omitted mention of such an important step. Abu-l Fazl extends the abolition as if of general application,ⁱ and gives, under the events of 1564, the reasons of its abolition on which it was abolished in 1579.

ⁱ And where Abu-lFazl has not done this, others have proved his equals. In every history book it is stated that Akbar in 1563 abolished the Pilgrimage Tax in his Empire and gave Freedom of Worship to Hindus. Actually, in 1563, soon after his marriage with the Rajput princess of Amber, Akbar abolished at only one place the tax collected at the time of pilgrimage and fair. (AulF,ii, p.190). Happily at this time, when the empire of Akbar was made of less than two provinces, there was only this one important place of Hindu pilgrimage (Mathra). Hence some ground for the generalisation. But it has yet to be decided whether this tax was a Religious persecution Tax or a tax levied on economic basis, because at the time of pilgrimage there used to be held a fair with its brisk market.

The use of the word 'Baj' instead of 'Jizia' has created all this trouble. If we put the word Jizia instead and shift the arguments proffered in 1564 to 1579 all the facts drop neatly into place.

If the Baj is Jizia, Abu-l Fazl refers to the abolition of Jizia previous to 1579, also, under the events of 1564. In 1579 Akbar was really trying to play the part of the Spiritual Head of Hindus and Muslims alike, obliterating distinction between the two. In 1579 Akbar's treasury was also really full..

In the presence of Badaoni's clear statements and after the cross-examination of Abu-l Fazl, it is evident that Jizia was not abolished in 1564 as hitherto believed and stated in every history book on the period, but in 1579 and that it was not abolished to give them some¹ citizenship which the Hindus under Akbar did not enjoy before its abolition, but as a part of the plan of Akbar's Religious headship of Hindus and Muslims.

Akbar grew up to be a fervently religious man. With utmost rigour and intensity he worshipped like a Muslim. He searched after the truth, tried to know the

1. Sri Ram Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, p. 23.

secret of the miraculous powers attributed to saints and prophets and sought to have a direct communion with God. But in vain. He went from place to place from religion to religion to see if anywhere there existed what he desired. There was no flash of light to guide him in the darkness. Disappointed, he formulated his own Order. How far it helped him on his path is not known. Perhaps it gave him some consolation at least. But his search continued, with a courage undaunted. Those who confessed to follow him might or might not have been sincere in their professions, but he was honest throughout his long journey. Every regulation of his Order may not command our respect, but certainly the man himself, ^{does as} ~~an~~ administrator, ^a conqueror, ^a ~~the~~ builder of the Muslim strength in India, the Greatest of the Great Moguls, ~~yet a philosopher on the throne.~~

APPENDIX B.

Hindus and Muslims under Akbar were put together on various services and they are named in one and the same breath. ~~Their~~^{names} ~~official lists~~ give us an insight into the time.

1573 - 1600.

In the second Gujrat expedition those who accompanied
1573 Akbar were Mirza Khan, Saif Khan Koka, Zen Khan Koka,
Hussain Khan Tukriya, Abd-uLahKhan, ^{4/} Jagan Nath, ² /Raisal,
/Jai Mall, /Jagmāl Patvar, Khawja Ghias-udDin Ali Asaf Khan,
/Raja Birbar, /Raja Dip Chand, Mir Ghias-udDin Ali Naqib
Khah, Mohammad Zamān, Bahadur Khan, /ManSingh Darbari,
Sayyad Khawja, Shaikh Ahd-urRahim, /Ram Das Kachwaha,
/Ram Chand, Bahadur Khan Qurdar, /Sañwal Das, /Jadūn
Kaith Darbari, Surkh Badakhshi, /Davar Bhalla, /Har Das,
/Tara Chand Khaws and ¹ /Lal Kalavant.

In the same campaign among the emperor's personal
guards were the musketeers, /Salbāhan, Qadar Quli and
² /Ranjit.

1574. Next year when Akbar proceeded towards Bihar, where

1. AulF, iii, p.49.

2. " p.51.

i. The mark ^{indicates} 4/ A Hindu.

Only the prominent ones are mentioned in every case.
The accompaniment of forces is understood.

imperial forces were fighting against Afghans under Daud, he was accompanied by /Raja Bhagwan Das, /Raja Man Singh, Zen Khan Koka, Shahbaz Khan, Sadiq Khan, Qasim Khan MirBehr, /Raja Birbar, Jalal Khan, Mirzada Ali Khan, Sayyad Abd-ullah Khan, /Madho Singh, Naqib Khan, Qamr¹ Khan, Mir Sharif and Niyabat Khan.

And travelling together down the Ganges in a boat² were Qazi-eAsker, /Bhagwan Das Khazanchi and Sher Beg.

1580. In the campaign against the Bengal-Bihar rebels the centre in one of the battles was commanded by Tarsun Khan, /Raja Todar Mall, /Rai Surjan, /Raja Askaran and Mehtar³ Khan.

1581 In the army that invaded Kabal under Prince Murad, in 1581, he was accompanied at the centre by Mirza Yusuf Khan, /Rai Rai Singh, /Rai Durga, Gojar Khan, /Suraj Singh, /Madan Chohan, Shaikh Abd-urRahim, /Balaka Rai, /Ram Chand, /Thakarsi, Salim Khan, Kakar Ali, Sayyad Mohammad Moji, Karam-ullah Kambo, /Pirthi Raj, /Ram Das Chohan, /Mathra Das /Sanwal Das, /Kulla Kachhwaha, /Askaran, /Kajra, Hazara Beg,⁴ Shaikh Wali Jalal and Mir Mohsan.

-
1. AulF, iii, p. 87.
 2. " p. 94.
 3. " p.307.
 4. " p.353.

The vanguard was commanded by /Raja Man Singh, Norang Khan, Sheroya Khan, /Madho Singh, Mohammad Beg Tuklu, /Man Singh Darbari, /Jagmal Selehdar, Bahadur Khan Qurdar, /Surjan, Pehlvan Ali, /Sakat Singh, /Jagat Rai, /Ram Chand, /Bhagwan Das, Shaikh Kabir, Jabbar Quli and Naqib¹ Divana.

1583.

When, in Gujrat, Muzaffar attacked the Imperialists, a strong force under Mirza Khan was despatched at once. Among his companions were Sayyad Qasim, Sayyad Hashim, Sheroya Khan, /Rai Durga, /Rai Lunkaran, /Medni Rai, Mian Bahadur, Darvesh Khan, Rafeh Sarmadi, Shaikh Kabir² and Nasib Turkman.

In the ensuing battle of Sarkhej, in which Muzzaffar was defeated, one of the wings was commanded by /Mota Raja, /Rai Durga, /Tulsi Das Jadun, /Beja Devra and /Rai Narain Das

The vanguard was under Pāinda Khan Mughal, Sayyad Hashim, /Rai Lūn Karan, /Ram Chand, /Udhe Singh, Sayyad Bahadur, Sayyad Shah Ali, Sayyad Nasr-ullah and Sayyad Karm-ullah.

In another division there were /Medni Rai, /Ramsah, /Raja Mukatman, Khawja Rafeh, Mukamal Beg Sarmadi, Nasib Turkman, Dolat Khan Lodhi, Said Khan Karrani, Shaikh Wali,

1. AulF, iii, p.353.

2. " iii, p.413.

1

Shaikh Zen and Khizar Aqa.

1584 To punish Sayyad Dolat in Cambay were sent /Mota Raja, /Medni Rai, /Raja Mukatman, /Ramsah, /Udhe Singh, /Ram Chand, /Bagh Rāthor, /Tulsi Das, /Jadūn, Dolat Khan Lodhi, etc.

and 2

1585 Bahadur Anūl Gakhar, Abo-ul Fatah Mughal, /Qara Behri, In another action against Muzzaffar in Gujrat in 1585 Khan Kanan's vanguard was under /Madan Chohan, /Ram Chand, /Udhe Singh, Sayyad Lad, Sayyad Bahadur, Sayyad Shah Ali, /Keshav Das Rathor, /Bhupat Daccani, and /Bhag Rathor. 3

4

1585 When Khan-eĀzam was sent to Malwa to make preparations for the Deccan invasion he was to be accompanied by Abd-ul Muttalab Khan, /Raja Askaran, Sheroya Khan, Mir Jamal-udDin Hussain Anjū, Burhan-ul Mulk Daccani, Abd-ur Rahman Moid Beg, Haji Abd-ul Lah Kashghari, Soleman Quli Turk, Ali Murad, Sher Mohammad, Ali Quli, Shahāb-ud Din Ahmad Khan, Sharif Khan, Tolak Khan, /Rai Durga, En-ul Mulk, Samanji Khan, Bāz Bahadur, Shaikh Abd-ul Lah Khan, /Mudhkar, /Jagman, /Kishan Das, Asaf Khan, Khawjgi Fatah-ul Lah and Mukhtar Beg.

-
1. AulF, iii, p.424.
 2. " iii, pp.436-37.
 3. " iii, p.455.
 4. " iii, pp.464-65.

1586.

In 1586, Zen Khan Koka was commissioned against Afghan tribes in Bajōr and Sawāt and those who went with him were Arb Khanjahani, Hassan Khan Patni, /Raja Mukatman, Jānash Bahadur, /Askaran, /Panchātān, /Hira Pardhan, /Ram Chand, Shaikh Kabir, Folad, Mohammad Ali Saldoz, /Ragho Nath Sisodia, /Sonār Chand, Khan Mohammad, Shaikh Marūf, Khanzada Mohammad Padshah Quli, Dolat Baloch, Mohammad Saīd, Yār Mohammad, Mir Tofan, Rahmat-ul Lah, Ālam Yādgar, Mulla Sheri, Hassan Beg Gūrd, Allah Bakhsh Mūr¹ and Shah Mohammad Isa.

1590

When Akbar thought of invading Qandhar and the army mobilized under Khan Khanan, it included Khawja Muqim, Shah Beg Khan, Sayyad Baha-ud Din, Bukhtiyar Beg, /Gordhan, /Raval Bhim, /Dilpat, Jānash Bahadur, Bahadur Khan Qūrdar, Mohammad Khan Niazi, Ali Mardān Bahadur, /Balabhohar Rathor, Sher Khan, Qara Beg, Faredun Birlas Sarmadi, Mir Masūm Bhakri, Hassan Ali Arb, Khawja Hassām-ud Din, Sayyad Darvesh, Qasim Koka, Khaki Gallāhbān, Nūr Mohammad, Khawja Khizri, Abd-ul Ghani, Ulgh Beg, Khaki Beg, Sayyad Mir Ali, Mirza Beg, Sālār Quli, Mirza Mohammad, Sayyad Bandah Ali, Ibrahim Beg, Murshad Quli Jolak, Shamshir-e Arb, Mohammad Zamān, Baqi Chahārdangi,

1. AulF, iii, p. 475-85.

Abd-ul Latif, Bahadur Mulk, Izzat Ali Kabli, Allah Burdi Tolakchi, Ilyas Topchi, Mohammad Quli Tungriburdi,
¹
 Farrakh Beg and Qul Mohammad.

In 1591, Prince Murad was appointed Governor of
 1591 Malwa to organise the offensive against the Deccan Sultanates and with him were ordered Ismail Quli Khan, Mukhtar Beg, /Jagan Nath, /Rai Durga, Abd-ul Lah Khan, Haji Saindūk, Razā Quli, Mirza Khan, Qābal Beg, Qasim Beg Tabrezi, Qasim Beg Zul Qadr, Mahmud Khan, Uttam Bahadur, Sedi Rehān, Zia-ud Din Yusuf, Ālam Khan, Naqib Divana, Shaikh Maruf, Mirza Mohammad, Shaikh Abd-ul Lah, Bukhtiyar Said, Mir Kalān Kolabi, /Rai Singh, Afzal Tolakchi, /Bhūpat, Āraf, Ammād, Abd-ur Rahim, Lael Beg, Amir Beg, Anfās Beg, Qaya Beg, /Kalyan Das Kochak, Zamān Beg, Mohammad Wes Kolabi, Bāyazid, Imam Quli, Sultan Mahmud, Mohammad Uttam, Mahmud Beg, /Ranjit, /Ishar Das, Amir Qarāval, Khawja Mubarak, /Banvari Das, Wafādār, Hassan Beg,
²
 Mohammad Beg Turkman, /Neramsāl, /Sazdosāl and /Lakhmi Das.

Under Man Singh against the Afghans in Orissa were
 1592 fighting Tolak Khan, Farrakh Khan, Ghazi Khan Medani, Mir Qasim Badakhshi, /Rai Bhoj, /Sangram Singh, /Akkar

1. AulF, iii, pp.584-85.

2. " iii, pp.599-600.

Panchātan, /Chander Sen, /Bhupat Singh, Barkhordar, /Madho, /Lakhi Rai Kokra, /Puran Mall Kedhoria, /Rūp Narain Sisodia, Yusuf Khan, Makhsus Khan, Bahadur Khan, Tahir Khan, Babu Mankali, Khawja Bāqir Insari, Makhdūmzada, Mirza Mohammad Divana, Pahar Khan, Baqir Khan, /Durjan Singh, /Subhān Singh, /Subl Singh, Noram Koka, Shahāb-ud Din, Sons of Ulgh Khan Habshi, Muzzafar and Khawjgi Ināyat-ul Lah.¹

1592 To attack Raja Ram Chand Man Singh ^{under} sent/Jagat Singh, Mir Sharif Sarmadi, Mir Qasim Badakhshi, Barkhordar, Abu-l Baqa, Mahmud Beg Shamlu and Shahab-ud Din Divana.²

Akbar married his daughter Shakkar-unNisa Begam to
1593 Mirza Shahrukh, who was appointed Governor of Malwa. He proceeded to his charge accompanied by Shahbaz Khan, HaiderDost, Saif-ul Lah, /Durjan Kachhwaha, /Ram Chand Chohan, /Kulla Rathor, Maq̄sud Mir-e Ab, Fatah-ul Lah Kambo, Mohammad Zamān, /Narhar Das, Saleh, Ali Dost, Mir Fāzal, Yar Mohammad Qūrdar, /Rana Sānga, Dost Mohammad and
³
/Suraj Mall.

1596 When Khan Khanān and Mirza Shahrukh under Prince Murad marched against the combined forces of the three

1. AulF, iii, p.611.

2. " p.631.

3. " iii, p.644.

sultanates of Deccan, the Imperial vanguard was under /Jagan Nath, /Rai Durga, /Raj Singh, /Ram Chand, /Keshav Das, /Sanwal Das, /Ragho Mall, /Bhim, /Narain Das, /Manohar, /Pirthi Raj, /Narhar Das, Kevāṅkulah, /Sakat Singh, Sultan Bhāti,¹/Thakursi, /Bhoj Raj, /Pars Ram and Shaikh Jamāl.

1600

Asir had fallen and Akbar was subduing the neighbouring country. Abu-l Fazl was sent towards Nasik accompanied by /Rai Rai Singh, /Rai Durga, /Rai Bhoj, Hasham Beg Tolak, Muqim Beg, Foad Khan and² Kamil-ul Mulk.

Throughout Akbar's forces were composed of Muslims and Hindus alike. Muslims of all descriptions, of various races and countries, Turks, Mongols, Arabs, Afghans, Hindi, Irani, Kashghari, Badakhshi, Kabli, Kolabi, Tabrezi, Medani, Birlas, Saldoz, Taklu, Shamlu, Turkman, Tolak, Anju, Insari, Daccani, Habshi, Bhakri, Baloch, Gakhar, Murl, Mirzas, Khans, Sayyads, Khawjas, Shaiks, Kambos, Karranis, Lodhis, Niazis and Hindus of all denominations, Patvārs, Kaiths, Khatries, Kākṛās Kaidhorias, Kachhwahas, Rathors, Chohans, Sisodias - all of them welded together to form one single block - the Akbarian force.

1. AulF, iii, p.718.

2. " iii, p.784.

Appendix C.

Akbar's Hindu Mansabdars

Haft Hazari

Raja Man Singh

Panj Hazari

Raja Bhar Mall

Raja Bhagwan Das

Jagan Nath

Bikermajit

Chahar Hazari

Raja Todar Mall

Raja Rai Singh

Sih Hazari

Madho Singh

Raj Singh

Rai Pitr Das

Do Hazar Panj Sadi

Raisal Darbari

Do Hazari

Raja Kalyan Mall

Raja Lunkaran

Rai Surjan

Raja Gopal

Raja Ram Chand Bhaghela

Khankar

Ram Das Kachhwaha

Bhao Singh

Maha Singh

Birbar

Yak Hazar Panj Sadi

Raja Udhe Singh

Rai Durga Sisodia

Rupsi

Jagat Singh

Yak Hazari

Askaran

Jagmal

Partap Singh

Sakat Singh

Medni Rai Chohan

Kalyan Das

Rai Bhoj

Raja Siyam Singh

Raja Jagman Chohan

Haft Sadi

Salhadi

Dharo

Panj Sadi

Raval Bhim

Durjan Singh

Sabal Singh

Dilpat

Jagmal Patvar

Parma Nand Khatri

Ram Chand Bhandhela

Raja Mukatman Bhedoria

Raja Ram Chand of Orissa

Chahar Sadi

Rai Manohar

Ram Chand Kachhwaha

Balka

Sih Sadi

Balabhdhar Rathor

Keshav Das

Tulsi Das Jadun

Man Singh Kachhwaha

Kishan Das

Do Sadi

Rai Ram Das Divan

Jagat Singh

Mathra Das Khatri

Sanwal Das Jadun

Udand of Orissa

Keshav Das Rathor

Suthra Das

Sanga Patvar

Sundar of Orissa

Sakra

Kalla Kachhwaha

Lala.

There were many others whose 'mansabs' unfortunately are not recorded anywhere.

Appendix D

Hindus in Akbar's service

Acting Wakil-e Saltanat

Raja Todar Mall

Chief Divans

Raja Todar Mall

Rai Pitr Das

Divans at the centre

Raja Todar Mall

Rai Pitr Das

Prominent Commanders

Raja Bhagwan Das

Raja Man Singh

Raja Todar Mall

Rai Rai Singh

Raja Udhe Singh

Jagan Nath

Askaran

Lunkaran

Ram Chand

Rai Durga

Rai Surjan

Raisal

Madho Singh

Rai Rayan Bikermajit

Provincial Governors

Raja Bhagwan Das

Raja Man Singh

Raja Todar Mall

Rai Rai Singh

Joint Provincial Governors

Jagan Nath

Askaran

Rai Durga

Officiating Divan at the centre

Rai Ram Das

Deputy Divans at the centre

Rai Pitr Das

Rai Ram Das

Assistant Divan at the centre

Madho Singh

In the Central Government

Jagan Nath

Askaran

Lunkaran

Jagmal

Rai Durga

Rai Surjan

Rai Sal

Provincial Bakhshis

Rai Parkhotam

Tara Chand

Provincial Divans

Krishan Das

Ram Das

Bharti Chand

Rai Ram Das

Khanur

Mathra Das

Ram Rai

Keshav Das

Appendix E.

The House of Amber

Raja Bhar Mall of Amber, holding the Rank of the Commandan of 5,000 cavalry.

Raja Bhagwan Das,	5,000 , son of Bhar Mall.
Raja Man Singh,	7,000 , son of Bhagwan Das.
Askaran,	1,000 , brother of Bhar Mall.
Jagmal,	1,000 , brother of Bhar Mall.
Rupsi,	1,500 , brother of Bhar Mall.
Jagan Nath,	5,000 , son of Bhar Mall.
Salhadi,	700 , son of Bhar Mall.
Madho Singh,	3,000 , son of Bhagwan Das.
Partap Singh,	1,000 , son of Bhagwan Das.
Raj Singh,	3,000 , son of Askaran.
Khankar,	2,000 , son of Jagmal.
Jagat Singh,	1,500 , son of Man Singh.
Sakat Singh,	1,000 , son of Man Singh.
Bhao Singh,	2,000 , son of Man Singh.
Durjan Singh,	500 , son of Man Singh.
Sabal Singh,	500 , son of Man Singh.
Jagat Singh,	200 , son of Man Singh.
Maha Singh,	2,000 , son of Jagat Singh, 1,500.
Himmat Singh,	- , son of Man Singh.
Chander Bhan,	- , brother of Man Singh.
Suraj Singh,	- , brother of Man Singh.

Raja Bhar Mall, his 3 brothers, 3 sons, 2 nephews, 5 grandsons, 7 great-grandsons and 1 great-great-grandson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Important Contemporary Authorities

- Abu-l Fazl, Akbarnama, vols. ii and iii.
Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1879 and 1886.
- Abu-l Fazl, Ain-e Akbari, vol. i.
Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1872.
- Nizam-ud Din Ahmad, Tabqat-e Akbari, vol. ii.
Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1931.
- Abd-ul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, vols. ii and iii.
Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1865 and 1869.

2. Other Contemporary Works

- Abd-ul Haq, Tarikh-e Haqqi. MSS. (A.D. 1596-7).
- Asad Beg, Waqiat-e Asad Beg. Elliot and Dawson, VI, pp.150-74.
- Early Travels in India, ed. W. Foster. 1921.
- Mohammed Hussain Azad, Darbar-e Akbari, Lahore, 1921.
- Mohammad Qasim Firishta, Tarikh-e Firishta. Bombay lithographed text of 1832.
- Molana Ahmad and others, Tarikh-e Alfi. Elliot and Dawson, V, pp.1-10.
- Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, A. Monserrate. English translation by J.S. Hoyland. London, 1922.
- Pierre Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits. Translated by C.H. Payne Routledge, 1926.
- Qandhari, Tarikh-e Mohammad Arif Qandhari.
- Fitch, R., England's Pioneer to India, ed. J.H. Riley, London, 1843.
- Tozak-e Jahangiri. Aligarh, 1864.

3. Modern Works

Binyon, L., Akbar. London, 1932.

-----, The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls. London, 1921.

Blochmann, H., "Badauni and his works". Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No.1. pp.105-144. 1869.

Brown, P., Indian Painting under the Mughals. Oxford, 1924.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. 1937.

Goldie, F., The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul. Dublin, 1897.

Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire. London, 19

Ishwari Prasad, History of Medieval India. Allahabad, 1925.

Kennedy, Vans, "Some notices respecting the religion introduced by Akbar". Translation of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, Chapter XI, pp.242-270. London, 1820.

MacLagan, E.D., "The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar". Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, i, Vol. lxxv. 1896.

Modi, J.J., The Parsees at the Court of Akbar. Bombay, 1903.

Noer, Count von, The Emperor Akbar. Translated by A. Beveridge. Calcutta, 1890.

Roychoudhury, M.L., The Din-i-Ilahi. Calcutta, 1941.

Saran, P., The Provincial Government of the Mughals. Allahabad, 1

Smith, V.A., Akbar, the Great Mogul. Clarendon Press. 2nd ed. 19

Sri Ram Sharma, Mughal Empire in India, 1526-1761. Bombay, 1934.

-----, Religious Policy of the Mughul Emperors. Oxford, 1

Wilson, H.H., "Account of the Religious Innovations attempted by A Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Vol. I, pp.49-62. Calcutta,

